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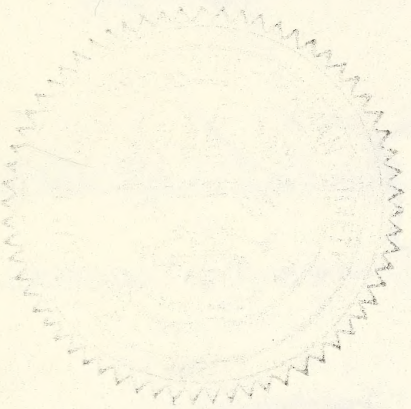
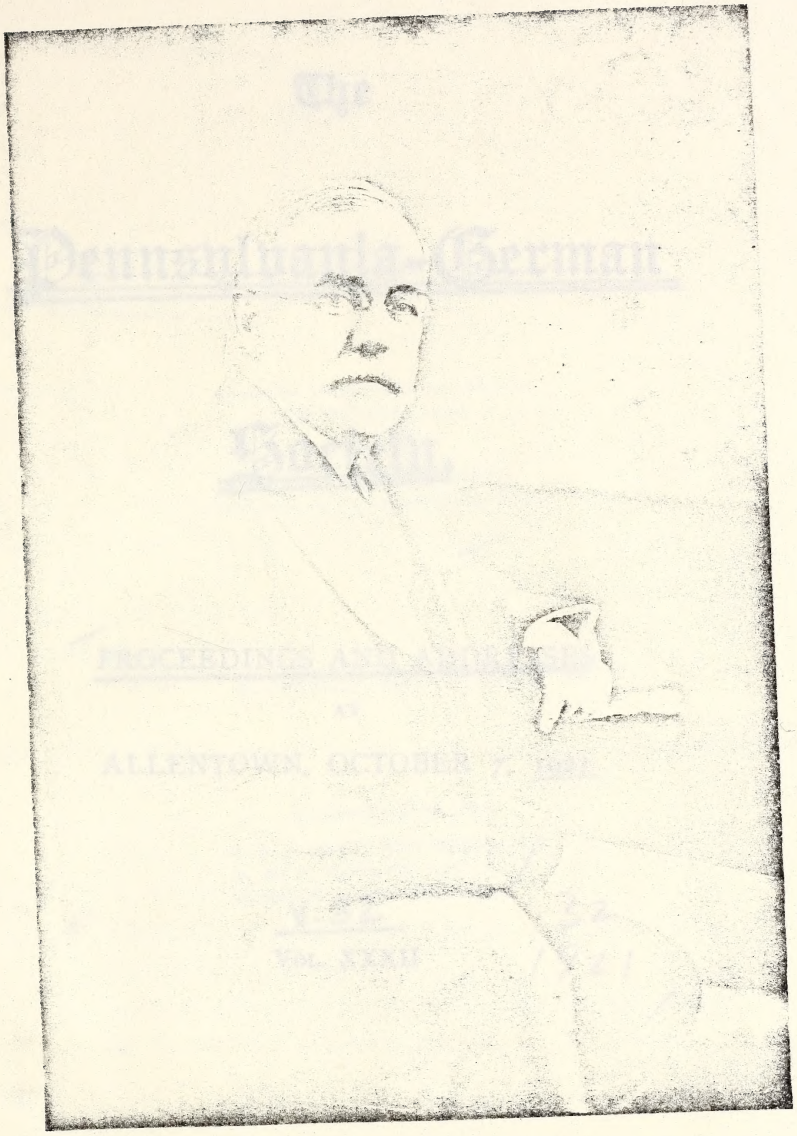


VOLUME XXXII

Allentown, October 7, 1921



Harry C. Trexler

The Pennsylvania-German Society.

PROCEEDINGS AND ADDRESSES

AT

ALLENTOWN, OCTOBER 7, 1921

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1921

VOL. XXXII

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Publication Committee.

J. E. BURNETT BUCKENHAM, M.D.
H. M. M. RICHARDS, LITT.D.
ELMER E. S. JOHNSON, PH.D.

LANCASTER PRESS, INC.
LANCASTER, PA.

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OFFICERS OF THE SOCIETY

FOR 1920–21

President:

GENERAL HARRY C. TREXLER, LL.D.

Vice-Presidents:

HON. CHARLES I. LANDIS,
HON. HENRY C. CONRAD, LL.D.

Secretary:

DANIEL W. NEAD, M.D.

Treasurer:

J. E. BURNETT BUCKENHAM, M.D.

Executive Committee:

Terms expire in 1922.

REV. GEORGE W. SANDT, D.D.,
PORTER W. SHIMER, PH.D.,
WILLIAM M. SCHNURE.

Terms expire in 1923.

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ALFRED PERCIVAL SMITH,
ULYSSES S. KOONS.

Terms expire in 1924.

ELMER E. S. JOHNSON, PH.D.,
HENRY S. BORNEMAN,
CHARLES R. ROBERTS.

Terms expire in 1925.

GEORGE A. GORGAS, PH.D.,
REV. JOHN BAER STOUDT,
H. WINSLOW FEGLEY.

Terms expire in 1926.

BENJAMIN F. FACKENTHAL, JR., SC.D.,
NAAMAN H. KEYSER, D.D.S.,
WILLIAM K. T. SAHM, M.D.

REPORT OF THE PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

FOR THE

THIRTY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE SOCIETY'S EXISTENCE

HELD AT ALLENTOWN, PA.

ON FRIDAY OCTOBER 7TH, 1921

THE thirty-first annual meeting of the Pennsylvania-German Society was held at Allentown, Pa., on Friday, October 7, 1921.

The Executive Committee held its meeting on the morning of the same day, at the Hotel Allen, which was of a most important nature. To restore renewed activity and life in the work of the Society, which had become more or less dormant because of the World War but recently brought to a close, a complete reorganization of the duties of the Committee was accomplished, with a most beneficial result. The principal change consisted in the doing away

with numerous sub-committees and the absorption of their work into the " Committee on Activities " which has been functioning with marked success ever since, to the great benefit of the Society.

The Annual Meeting took place in the adjacent Zion's Reformed Church, occupying the site of the original historic building which it had replaced some seventy-seven years before.

Amongst the many things transferred to Bethlehem, after the battle of Brandywine and in anticipation of the occupancy of Philadelphia by the British, were the bells of Christ Church, other Church bells, and especially the now-sacred historic State House bell that had pealed forth the announcement of independence.

On September 24, 1777, these—at least some of them—were conveyed to Allentown and secreted in the cellar of Zion's Church.

It will be of interest, and not out of place, to restate what further was written on this subject by Bishop J. Mortimer Levering, of the Moravian Church, in his History of Bethlehem, 1903, who says:

" The ' Liberty Bell ' visited Allentown November 3, 1893, on its return from the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago, was honored by a patriotic demonstration and permitted to remain over night in remembrance of its sojourn there, as commonly supposed, during the darkest days of the Revolution. The next day it was viewed and cheered by a throng in the rain at the railway station at Bethlehem, whence it was taken back to Philadelphia. The fortunes of war, which, in September, 1777, brought these Philadelphia bells to the square in front of the Brethren's House of Bethlehem, at the same time terminated the history of a bell-foundry in the cellar of that

house, when they converted it, the second time, into a military hospital. Matthias Tommerup, brazier and bell founder, mentioned in a previous chapter, a native of Halstebroe in Jutland, Denmark, who came to Bethlehem in 1761, established his handicraft in the basement of the house in which he and his fellow bachelors lived and wrought. His first product was probably the small prayer and refectory bell of the house, with, perhaps soon after that, April 5, 1762, a heavier cast, a bell for Bethabara, the first Moravian settlement in North Carolina. The Widow's House was furnished with a small bell silimar to the first. July 29, 1768, he cast a more pretentious bell of 236 pounds for the Easton Court House. Then, in 1769, he turned out another, which, for many years, was the Allentown Academy bell. It bore the legend: *Matt. Tommerup, Bethlehem, fuer Leon. Harbatel n. Salome Berlin, 1769.* It seem to have been first used on Zion's Church. Perhaps those persons were the donors. The bell is now in possession of Mr. Joseph Ruhe, of Allentown, who purchased the old Academy property, and whose residence, northwest corner of Eighth and Walnut Streets, occupies its site. Tommerup's last bell, doubtless,—he moved to Christianstrunn, September, 1777, and died there February 22, 1778—was a recast, July 26, 1776, a little more than a month before the first hospital invasion—after two unsuccessful attempts, and after overcoming the difficulty with the old and added new metal by throwing in some silver—of the largest of the three bells cast in 1746 by Samuel Powell and hung in the little bell turret of the, at present, so-called Bell House on Church Street. In the recasting its weight was increased from 116 to 228 pounds. That historic bell, distinguished through all the years by having a succession of women as

its ringers, hangs there yet, its tones, so familiar to six generations of Bethlehemites, yet calling children to school and telling the organist when to begin playing at the evening services in the adjoining Old Chapel. Its long service as 'quarter bell,' 11:45 a.m., to cheer the laborer by daily announcing 'dinner soon,' ceased in March, 1871."

At 11:30 a.m., through the courtesy of its President, General H. C. Trexler, the members of the Society were treated to a luncheon in the Hotel Allen, its headquarters for the occasion.

At 1:00 p.m. Zion's Church was filled with those who had gathered for the afternoon session, which was opened with an invocation by its pastor, the Rev. Simon Sipple. Owing to the enforced absence from the city of General Trexler the meeting was presided over by the Hon. Judge Henry C. Conrad, of Georgetown, Delaware, Vice President.

The next order of business was the report of the Secretary, which was presented and read by Dr. Daniel W. Nead, Secretary.

Report of the Secretary.

To the Officers and Members of the Pennsylvania German Society:

The past year has been a quiet one in the affairs of the Society, nothing of importance having occurred.

The Executive Committee held its regular meetings:

January 19—at Reading,
April 20—at Philadelphia,
June 22—at Reading,
October 7—at Allentown.

Since our last meeting the following members have died:

October 27, 1920—Horace L. Haldeman,
January 14—Major Joseph G. Rosengarten, LL.D.,
January 31—Alfred C. Bruner,
March 14—Isaac Hiester,
March 1—Grant Weidman,
May 19—Franklin B. Wonsetler,
July 31—George H. Burgin, M.D.,
September 29—Frank Ried Diffenderffer, Litt.D.

The following were elected to membership:

Calvin Daniel Yost, Collegeville,
Rev. Calvin Boyd Heller, Salisbury, N. C.

I must again call your attention to the necessity of securing new members for the Society. Our members are gradually passing away—eight of them during the past year—and some few are dropping out. If we desire to keep our publications up to the high standard which has won for us the place we occupy among the historical organizations of the country, we must secure new members in order to obtain the money necessary for publishing. It requires very little effort to secure new members. Usually if you call a man's attention to it and explain to him just what the Society is doing, and then hand him a blank application, he will take it along and fill it out. I will be glad to send to anyone all the blank applications he may wish.

D. W. NEAD,
Secretary.

The President then called on the Treasurer for his report, which here follows:

REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY.

October 1, 1920–October 4, 1921.

DR.

Balance in the Penn National Bank, September 30, 1920.....		$2,513.48
Receipts:		
Annual Dues.....	772.50	
Receipts from Annual Dinner....	149.00	
Interest on Bonds.....	102.50	
Publications sold.....	31.50	1,055.50
		$3,568.98

CR.

Dues, Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies 1921.....	2.00	
Penn National Bank, Safe Deposit Box	5.00	
Mt. Vernon Inn, Ephrata, Dinner...	150.00	
Stationery and Printing.....	52.75	
Engrossing certificates	3.40	
Printing Half-tones for Proceedings..	22.12	
Expenses, Publication Committee....	22.03	
Printing Proceedings, Postage, Expressage, Stationery.....1,794.20		
Donation to Berks County Historical Society	10.00	2,061.50
Balance in the Penn National Bank October 4, 1921.....		$1,507.48
		$3,568.98

ASSETS.

2 Electric & Peoples' Traction Company 4 per cent Bonds, $500.00 each	$1,000.00
1 United States Liberty Loan Bond, $1,000.00	1,000.00
	$2,000.00

Respectfully submitted,

J. E. BURNETT BUCKENHAM,
Treasurer.

The election of officers, to serve during the year 1922, resulted as follows:

President: Rev. Geo. W. Sandt, D.D.,

Vice Presidents: David A. Miller, Rev. William Wilberforce Deatrick, Sc.D.,

Secretary: Daniel W. Nead, M.D.*

Treasurer: J. E. Burnett Buckenham, M.D.

Executive Committee: B. F. Fackenthal, Jr., Sc.D., Naaman H. Keyser, D.D.S., W. K. T. Sahm, M.D.

The following interesting and valuable papers were read: "The Pennsylvania-German in the British Military Prisons of the Revolutionary War," by H. M. M. Richards, Litt.D., of Lebanon, Pa.

"The Evolution of an American Patriot," by Rev. Charles F. Dapp, Ph.D., of Philadelphia.

* On December 1, 1921, but shortly after the Annual Meeting, the Society suffered a sad loss in the untimely death of its faithful and efficient Secretary, Dr. Daniel W. Nead, whose physical condition had been such as should have prevented his presence at Allentown. Nevertheless, in his faithfulness to duty he attended the meeting and performed his duties with his usual energy, which was a severe tax on his strength. This was his last activity on behalf of the Society. Dr. Elmer E. S. Johnson, of Pennsburg, Pa., was then elected by the Executive Committee to fill the vacancy thus caused.

The remainder of the afternoon was spent in a most delightful trip over the very extensive and beautiful Forest and Game Preserves of General Harry C. Trexler, its President, filled with its noted herd of buffaloes, varied game and trees, its fine fish hatcheries, and embracing grand views of the magnificent scenery of the surrounding country.

At 7:00 p.m. the Annual Banquet was held in the Grill Room of the Hotel Allen, at which some sixty persons were present. H. M. M. Richards, Litt.D., acted as Toast Master, and introduced the following speakers with their subjects: Rev. Geo. W. Sandt, D.D., spoke on "Imported Goods"; Prof. Geo. T. Ettinger, Ph.D., on "A Good American"; Ulysses S. Koons, Esq., on "Bolsheviki," all of which addresses were most heartily enjoyed.

The entire gathering was one long to be remembered.

13-14

Biographical Sketches of Deceased Members of the Pennsylvania-German Society

Henry Clay Grittinger
Horace Leander Haldeman
Thomas A. J. Schadt
Joseph George Rosengarten, LL.D.
Alfred Cookman Bruner
Isaac Hiester
Grant Weidman
William Summers
Franklin B. Wonsetler
Frank Ried Diffenderffer, Litt.D.

Henry Clay Grittinger.

Born September 22, 1842, son of Adam and his wife Elizabeth Snavely, died October 5, 1920, 8.20 A.M., having been in failing health for nearly a year.

He was many years a member of the Board of the Lebanon Water Commissioners where he rendered valuable service as an engineer and in constructive work. He was deeply interested in city improvements and municipal development along general lines.

He attended the public schools of Lebanon, Pa., preparatory to entering Franklin and Marshall College at Lancaster.

Upon the outbreak of the Civil War he enlisted, September, 1861, as private in Company A, 93rd Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, serving until March, 1863, when discharged for disability. After recovery he reenlisted in Company E, 26th Emergency Regiment, Pennsylvania Volunteers, took part in the battle of Gettysburg, was made prisoner by the Confederates but shortly after paroled.

In March, 1864, he entered his father's office, where he assisted as surveyor and conveyancer until July, 1871, when he entered the employ of Mrs. Margaret C. Freeman as manager of the North Lebanon Furnace Plant, remaining with her and her son, William C. Freeman until 1901, his residence being at North Cornwall.

Returning, in 1901, to Lebanon, he was elected treas-

surer of the newly formed Lebanon County Trust Company, serving as such until 1903, when he resigned, to take a position under William C. Freeman, Jr., which he retained until death occurred.

Mr. Grittinger was actively identified with the Republican party from the time he attained his majority, and served as County Treasurer from 1906 to 1908, inclusive. He was a charter member and president of the Steitz Club; charter member and first president of the Lebanon County Historical Society, to whose publications he contributed, on February 20, 1901, a valuable paper on the "Cornwall Furnace and the Cornwall Ore Banks, or Mine Hills"; president of the Fidelity Building and Loan Association for many years until 1920; member Lebanon Chamber of Commerce; B. P. O. Elks No. 631; president 93d P. V. Regiment Association; Sedgwick Post No. 42, G. A. R., and connected with the Perseverance Fire Company.

He was twice married. First to Agnes Kuhnle, in June, 1865, who died in 1881, by whom he had six children: Mrs. George A. Gorgas, of Harrisburg, Pa.; Mrs. William J. Sherer, of New London, Pa.; Emma E., of Lebanon, Pa.; William F., of Milwaukee, Wis.; Paul, of Lebanon, County Treasurer; and Miss Agnes, of Harrisburg, Pa.

Married, second, to Emma Power, January, 1883, who survived him, with their children, Miss Katherine, and Frederick H., both of Lebanon. He left fourteen grandchildren.

Mr. Grittinger became a member of the Pennsylvania-German Society on April 12, 1899.

H. M. M. R.

Horace Leander Haldeman.

Ironmaster, son of Major Cyrus S. Haldeman by his wife Elizabeth Steman Brenaman, was born at "Locust Grove," the Haldeman homestead, Conoy Township, Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, September 16, 1847, and died at his home in Marietta, Pennsylvania, October 27, 1920. Educated in private schools in Lancaster County, the public schools and Dr. Edward Roth's private academy of Philadelphia, he was but a lad when the first gun of the Civil War was fired at Fort Sumpter. He, however, immediately entered the Union army; was commissioned first-lieutenant, Company B, Twentieth Pennsylvania Cavalry, July 28, 1863; first-lieutenant, Company I, in same Regiment, September 22, 1864, and captain, February 25, 1865; mustered out at close of war, with latter rank to date June 30, 1865; he was acting assistant adjutant-general on the staffs of Major-General George Cadwalader, Major-General D. N. Couch, and Brigadier-General O. S. Terry. He later served seventeen years on the staffs of several Governors of Pennsylvania, was some years lieutenant-colonel and assistant commissary-general of subsistence of the National Guard and had recently been retired as brigadier-general.

From 1867 to 1872 Captain Haldeman was connected with the Pennsylvania Railroad in New York and New England. From 1872 to 1899 he was engaged in the manufacture of pig iron at Chickies, Lancaster County,

after which he was actively interested in coal and iron industries in Virginia and West Virginia; was secretary and treasurer, superintendent and general manager of the Chickies Iron Company, 1878–1899; president of the Conewago Iron Company; second vice-president, secretary, treasurer, and director of the Pulaski Iron Company; secretary and treasurer of Virginia Mining Company; director and treasurer of Columbia and Donegal Electric Railway Company; director of Reading and Columbia Railway Company and director of First National Bank of Marietta.

In 1916, he was elected senator on the Republican ticket from the Seventeenth Senatorial District of Pennsylvania, comprising parts of Lancaster and Lebanon counties, and was a candidate for reëlection. Colonel Haldeman was a charter member of the Lieutenant William H. Child Post, Grand Army of the Republic, Marietta; was also in membership with the Military Order of the Loyal Legion, United States Cavalry Association, Society of the Army of the Potomac, American Institute of Mining Engineers, Philadelphia Foundrymen's Association, the Franklin Institute of Philadelphia, the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, the Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, the Lancaster County Historical Society, Pennsylvania-German Society, and the Union League of Philadelphia—illustrative of the manysidedness of the man.

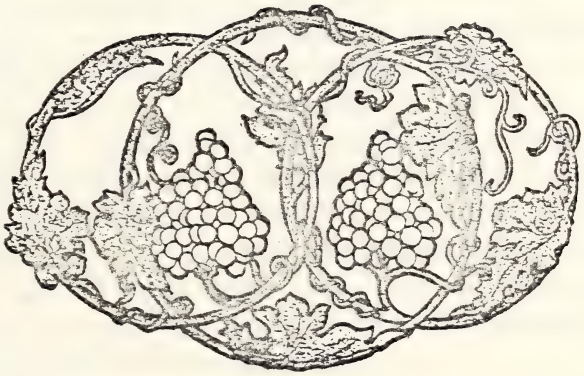
His great-great-grandfather, Jacob Haldeman (1722–1783), a German-Swiss, was a member of the Committee of Observation for Lancaster County, 1775; corporal in Captain Joseph Work's Company, First Lancaster County, Pennsylvania Battalion of the Flying Camp, 1776; private, Captain Andrew Stewart's Company, Tenth Battalion, Colonel Robert Elder, Lancaster County Militia, April

13, 1781. Various of his great-grandfathers also served in the Lancaster County Militia, viz.: private John Haldeman (1753–1832), private John Brenneman (1752–1806), private John Steman (1730–1785), and corporal Martin Lindemuth (1737–1829).

He married, June 11, 1872, Emma Louisa Jones, daughter of James Roberts Jones by his wife Sybilla Odenwelder, who survived him with a daughter, Miss Maud Haldeman.

He became a member of the Pennsylvania-German Society on July 18, 1895.

H. M. M. R.



Thomas A. J. Schadt.

Thomas A. J. Schadt was born in Whitehall Township, Lehigh County, March 5, 1860. He was the son of Thomas Schadt (1830–1917), and his wife Hannah Stofflet (1831–1904); grandson of Abraham Schadt (1799–1870) and Susanna Peter (1804–1878), a daughter of Philip Peter and Elisabeth Stettler; great-grandson of John Schadt (1760–1829) and Elisabeth Clader (1761–1820); great-great-grandson of John Schadt (1724–1777) and Elisabeth Catharine and of Valentine Clader (1726–1775) a native of the Palatinate and Anna Catharine Buss (1731–1794); great-great-great-grandson of Conrad Schadt (1683–1747), who came to Pennsylvania from Wurtemberg, Germany, on August 27, 1733.

On the maternal side he was the grandson of Jonas Stofflet (1798–1869) and Margaret Saeger (1801–1872); great-grandson of John Stofflet (1758–1843) and Eva Troxell (1768–1840) and of Nicholas Saeger (1775–1858) and Catharine Snyder (1782–1838); great-great-grandson of Nicholas Troxell (1725–1797) and of Nicholas Saeger (1737–1803) and great-great-great-grandson of John Troxell, born 1690, and of Nicholas Saeger (1694–1752), who was a native of Reichenbach, Bavaria, and settled in Pennsylvania in 1733.

Mr. Schadt was educated in the public schools of his native place and for many years spent a great deal of time in genealogical research, meanwhile assisting his

father on the farm. In later years, having ample means and leisure, he spent almost his entire time in research.

He was a member of the Reformed Congregation of Egypt Church, of the Lehigh County Historical Society and was elected a member of the Pennsylvania-German Society on January 21, 1903. He died at his home at Cementon on November 12, 1920.

CHAS. R. ROBERTS.

Joseph George Rosengarten, LL.D.

Major Rosengarten was born, in Philadelphia, July 14, 1835, son of George D., and Elizabeth (Bennett) Rosengarten. He received the degree of A.B. from the University of Pennsylvania in 1852, A.M., in 1855, and was admitted to the bar in 1856. He studied at the University of Heidelberg, Germany, in 1857, and received the degree of LL.D., from his Alma Mater in 1906. He continued in the practice of law at Philadelphia since 1856.

During the Civil War Major Rosengarten served as First Lieutenant, 121st Pennsylvania Volunteers, and Captain and Assistant Adjutant-General on the staff of that gallant soldier, Major General John F. Reynolds, who served with distinction on the Peninsula, and, while in command of the First Army Corps, laid down his life for his country on July 1, 1863, at Gettysburg.

Major Rosengarten was noted as an author, and was an authority on the part taken by Germans in our wars. Among his works were: The German Soldier in the Wars of the United States; The German Allied Troops in the War of Independence; Sources of American History in German Archives; French Colonists and Exiles in the United States, etc.

He was president of the Free Library of Philadelphia; vice-president of the House of Refuge, Philadelphia; trustee of the University of Pennsylvania, and president

of the Society of the Alumni and of the Phi Beta Kappa Chapter of said university.

He contributed a valuable paper to the publications of the Pennsylvania-German Society, October 25, 1904, on Frederick the Great and the United States, and was elected to honorary membership in the Society on April 22, 1898.

He was unmarried.

H. M. M. R.

Alfred Cookman Bruner.

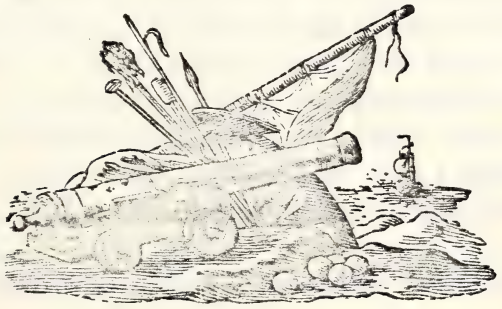
Mr. Bruner was born May 18, 1858, at Columbia, Pa. In 1879 he graduated from Wesleyan University. Having been admitted to the bar he practiced law in Columbia from 1883 to 1921.

His death occurred in Atlanta, Georgia, on January 21, 1891, when he was survived by his widow, Mrs. Annie M. Bruner, and the following children: Alfred E., Henry M., and Abraham B.

Mr. Henry M. Bruner, his second son, is now an Attorney-at-Law in Columbia.

Mr. Bruner became a member of the Pennsylvania-German Society on October 24, 1901.

H. M. M. R.



Isaac Hiester.

Attorney-at-law, born, Reading, Pa., January 8, 1856; died, there, March 14, 1921.

He was the only son of William Muhlenberg Hiester by his wife Julia Roland. His father was one of Reading's leading attorneys and a well-known figure in State and national politics, serving in the State Senate from 1850 to 1853, acting as presiding officer during his last year, and as Secretary of the Commonwealth, 1858 to 1861. His grandfather, Isaac Hiester, was for fifty years a distinguished physician in Reading. His grandmother, Esther Muhlenberg, was a daughter of General Peter Muhlenberg of the Revolution.

Educated in the local schools and graduated from the Reading High School in 1871, Mr. Hiester entered Trinity College, Hartford, Connecticut, from which he graduated with honors in 1876. He studied law in the office of the late George F. Baer, was admitted to the bar, August 13, 1878, and was in the practice of his profession at Reading until his death. In many of the important cases tried in the courts of Berks County, during the past forty years, he took an active part and no man pleading in the Supreme Court of the State was listened to with closer attention by the justices of that high tribunal. On a number of cases he appeared as attorney before the United States Supreme Court.

Early identified with the Berks County Bar Association,

he served as its vice-president until 1906, and as its president from that time continuously until March 14, 1921. For many years he was a member of the Pennsylvania Bar Association.

Active also in the business world, he was an organizer of the Second National Bank of Reading in 1881, and its president from 1890. He officiated as a director of the Reading Trust Company from its organization in 1886, and was associated as trustee, director, or member of the board of management, with the Reading Library, the East Penn. Railroad Company, the Reading Gas Company, the Reading Railway Company, the Reading Electric Light and Power Company, the Reading Hospital, and the Charles Evans Cemetery, being president of the latter corporation some years prior to his death. He was a communicant of Christ Episcopal Church, on the vestry of which he served from 1879, and for many years was vitally interested in its Sunday School, of which he was superintendent from 1880 to 1889.

In politics he was a Democrat. A close student of local and national affairs he was an encyclopedia of information on these subjects. Years ago he was mentioned for congressional honors. He gave the matter careful consideration but declined to permit the use of his name in this connection or in that of judicial honors for which, likewise, he had been slated by the party leaders.

In the front rank of good citizens he was held in high esteem as a friend by a very large circle. A traveller; a writer with a facile pen; a delightful conversationalist, with a mind stored with the best that literature could give and a tongue tipped with gracious humor; with an open heart and an open hand in matters that pertained to com-

munity welfare, though his benefactions were not permitted to become public.

He was a member of the Pennsylvania Society, Sons of the Revolution, by right of service of his great-grandfather, General John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg (1746–1807), chairman of Committee of Safety, and Correspondence of Dunmore County, Virginia, 1774; member of Virginia House of Burgesses, 1774; delegate to Virginia Convention, 1774; Colonel Eighth Regiment, Virginia Line, February 13, 1776; brigadier-general, Continental Army, February 2, 1777; brevet major-general, September 30, 1783; at Brandywine, Germantown, Valley Forge, Monmouth, Stony Point, Green Spring, and Yorktown; member of the Virginia State Society of the Cincinnati, transferred to the Pennsylvania State Society, 1789.

On December 4, 1905, Mr. Hiester married Mary Kimmell Baer, daughter of the late George F. Baer, president of the Philadelphia and Reading Railroad, by his wife Emily Kimmell. His widow survived with three children: William Muhlenberg Hiester, George Baer Hiester, and Emily Hiester.

He became a member of the Pennsylvania-German Society on January 9, 1895, and served as vice-president 1905–06.

H. M. M. R.

Grant Weidman.

Son of Grant Weidman, who served in the Civil War as Major of the 17th Regiment, Pennsylvania, from November 18, 1862, to August 17, 1863. He was son of General John Weidman (1814–63) and his wife Emma R. Grant, a brigadier-general of militia who served in the Civil War as captain of Company F, Fourth Pennsylvania Cavalry. He was son of Jacob Barge Weidman (1789–1857) by his first wife Mary Murray, daughter of William Murray of Harrisburg. He was son of Captain John Weidman (1756–1830) and wife Catharine Mason of Philadelphia, who served during the Revolution as an officer of the German Continental Regiment, in all the campaigns of that fine regiment, retiring January 1, 1781.

Mr. Weidman pursued a course of study in a preparatory school at Lawrenceville, N. J., then matriculated to the Princeton University, from which he was graduated as a Bachelor of Arts in 1890. After spending two years in the law office of his father he was admitted to the bar in 1892, and continued in legal practice until his decease.

He was director and treasurer of the Good Samaritan Hospital, and a member of its Board of Managers to the time of death; director and solicitor in both the Lebanon National Bank and the Lebanon County Trust Company; a director of the Lebanon Manufacturing Company, the North Lebanon Shoe Company, the Lebanon Gas and

Fuel Company and the Treadwell Manufacturing Company of Easton, Pa.

His social connections were extensive. In addition to his membership in the Steitz Club, the Lebanon Lodge of Elks, the Lebanon Country Club, and the Commandery, Council, Chapter, Mt. Lebanon Lodge, No. 226, Free and Accepted Masons, and other Masonic Orders with several other local fraternities, he was secretary of the Pennsylvania Society of the Cincinnati; a member, by inheritance, of the Military Order, Loyal Legion; the Berkshire Country Club, of Reading; the Wyomissing Club, of Reading; the Princeton Club, of Philadelphia, with the Rittenhouse and Racket Clubs of the same city.

He was a bachelor, and was survived by three sisters: Mrs. Frederick Schaeffer, of Philadelphia; Mrs. T. T. Lineaweaver, and Mrs. Warren G. Light, both of Lebanon.

Mr. Weidman was born September 3, 1868, and died March 1, 1920.

He became a member of the Pennsylvania-German Society on October 21, 1903.

H. M. M. R.

William Summers.

As a result of ailments, accompanying old age, the death of William Summers occurred at his home on Elm St., near Fayette, Conshohocken, Pa., April 29, 1921. Although his death was not unexpected, for he had been ailing for some time, it was a surprise and shock to his many friends.

Deceased was a former business man of Conshohocken, conducting a grocery store at Fayette and Elm Streets for many years. He was interested in the affairs of the borough and served as burgess of the town a long time ago. Mr. Summers was the eldest son of Samuel and Eliza (Whitby) Summers.

He was born in Norristown on May 30, 1833. Following his education in the schools of Norristown, he secured a position in 1851 in a store in Conshohocken. In 1858, he started business for himself at the corner of Fayette and Washington Sts., Conshohocken, and in 1880, he erected the building at Fayette and Elm Streets, now occupied by the Stephens Music Store. He retired from business in 1900.

In addition to serving as burgess of Conshohocken for two terms, he served as a member of town council and also as school director. He also served as a director of the Conshohocken Gas and Water Company. At the time of his death, he was librarian of the Historical Society of Montgomery County, at Norristown, Pa. He was

also a charter member of the Washington Fire Company of Conshohocken.

On October 10, 1858, Mr. Summers married Henrietta Yost. She died May 18, 1887. Two daughters survive, Miss Lillian and Mrs. Clara Murray.

He became a member of the Pennsylvania-German Society on July 20, 1900.

Franklin B. Wonsetler.

Franklin Bean Wonsetler, of the insurance firm of Colman Wonsetler, Norristown, Pa., who has its place of business at DeKalb and Penn Streets, died at the Lankenau Hospital, Philadelphia, at 8.45 o'clock, May 10, 1921.

Mr. Wonsetler, who resided at DeKalb and Fornance Streets, had his tonsils removed at the hospital on Tuesday, May 3. While convalescing he was attacked with appendicitis and his condition was such that it was decided to operate last Saturday. He passed through the operation successfully and yesterday when his wife and some friends visited the hospital, they found that his condition was very encouraging.

During the night, Mr. Wonsetler had a relapse and his condition became so alarming that his wife and daughter were hurriedly summoned to the hospital, but Mr. Wonsetler expired before they reached the institution. Deceased, who was 58 years old had been a resident of Norristown about thirty years. Before coming to Norristown, he resided at Atlanta, Georgia.

He was a member of the Valley Forge Memorial Chapel. Since coming to Norristown, Mr. Wonsetler has been engaged in the insurance business. The memory of the late Frank B. Wonsetler deserves more than a mere impersonal mention of his death. He was the highest type of business man, the finest kind of a gentleman, and

a devoted working Christian. Daily doing enough work at his office to keep an ordinary man busy, he yet found time for civic betterment, philanthropic movements, and the Lord's work.

His cheery presence and encouraging smile helped many a man and many an enterprise over the rocky road. He stood shoulder to shoulder with that little band of devoted patriots who pushed the Valley Forge Chapel project through a period of public indifference until it became a magnificent memorial shrine. His name should be inscribed on that noble fane along with those of the earlier patriots, because he, as well as they, gave his best to the cause. He worked quietly and unobtrusively, seldom in the limelight, but always the same dependable worker and friend. Nobody was more widely or favorably known in Norristown. Nobody will be missed by more sorrowing friends. No other citizen would be a greater loss to the town. (Extract from *Norristown Daily Herald,* May 10, 1921.)

Mr. Wonsetler became a member of the Pennsylvania-German Society on October 28, 1909.

Frank Ried Diffenderffer, Litt.D.

Born April 30, 1833. Died September 29, 1921.

In the death of Dr. Diffenderffer the Pennsylvania-German Society has sustained a great and noteworthy loss.

Not only was he one of the founders of this Society which he loved so much, and of which he was accustomed to speak as "our dear Society," and "our grand old Society," but he was *the* Founder himself.

It was he who felt that it was time for the "Sleeping Giant" to awake, to the end that the world might know somewhat of the great deeds performed by our ancestors towards the creation, preservation, and upbuilding of our now glorious country. It was he, who, during the months of December, 1890, and January, 1891, wrote the newspaper articles advocating the establishment of a Pennsylvania-German Society, and it was through his efforts that, on February 26, 1891, a small group of representative men were gathered together in the city of Lancaster, Pa., who formed the nucleus of and originated the organization, of which today we are rightly proud, and which, above all others, has justified its existence as shown by the long row of splendid volumes which, while exemplifying the finest handiwork of the publisher and illustrator, contain the best narrative and critical history of "Pennsylvania—The German Influence in its Settlement and Development" now in existence or ever likely to be in existence.

Diebendorf
(Nahe bei Zurich)
Ao
Frank Bied Diffenderffer
Bauer
Bücher Redacteur

1652388

What more natural than that this man should have been signally honored by his associates. He became its first Secretary and remained as such until October 3, 1894, when he was elevated to the highest gift in the power of the Society, its Presidency, on October 16, 1895, serving in that capacity until October 15, 1896. He was continuously a member of the Executive Committee from April 15, 1891, until October 27, 1905, and then, to the very great regret of his fellow members, was constrained to decline a further reëlection because of his already impaired sight. It would be impossible to specify the exceedingly valuable service rendered by him during his lengthy official career. Only those who knew him well can realize it. His more than able literary contributions alone can be mentioned, but all too briefly considering their worth and value.

The active and honorable life of such a man as Dr. Diffenderffer dare not be lightly passed over by the Society of which he was so important a part and which he loved so dearly.

Great men do not become such in a day. They inherit largely those powers which, when properly used, bring forth a suitable fruitage. The subject of our sketch came from an honorable ancestry.

The original immigrant was John Michael Dübendorf, born January 10, 1695, who reached Pennsylvania on September 21, 1727, from his home near Heidelberg, in the Palatinate. It is very probable that the ancient home of the family was in the old town of Dübendorf, six miles northeast of the city of Zurich, Switzerland. In 1690 the public records of this place were destroyed by fire, thus ending further genealogical research, but an account of the ancient town, going back to 1195, is found in the

" Swiss Geographical Lexicon " of 1752, in which mention is made of one Werner von Diebendorf and also Cuno von Diebendorf, Knight, as witnesses to important public documents, a copy of which book is to be found in the State Library at Harrisburg.

Michael, the son of the immigrant, born near Heidelberg, November 4, 1721, came to Lancaster in 1765, built that well-known hostelry, the " Leopard," on East King Street; became a commissioner of Lancaster county from 1770 until 1772; took the oath of allegiance in July, 1777; was a burgess of the town from 1778 to 1784, and bought the estate of the so-called " Baron " Henry William Stiegel, at Manheim, in 1779, who had been overtaken with financial difficulties. He was a man of influence and wealth, and did patriotic service during the Revolution in his home town.

His son David, born February 9, 1752, near New Holland, Pa., was an officer in the famous German Continental Regiment of Pennsylvania, and shared in its noble record during the Revolutionary War, including Trenton, Princeton, Valley Forge, Monmouth, and Sullivan's Expedition against the Six Nations. He was taken prisoner in the Spring of 1777 and suffered great hardships in the infamous Sugar Refinery of New York City until exchanged at the end of the year. His son, Michael, born August 4, 1783, was the father of our deceased friend who was born in the village of New Holland, Lancaster County, Pa., on April 30, 1833.

The life of Dr. Diffenderffer was far from being of a tame and monotonous character. For sixteen years he remained in the place of his birth, a farmer's son, attending its public schools, when he entered the preparatory department of Marshall College at Mercersburg, Pa. In

1850 he went to Lancaster city as a clerk in the book store of W. H. Spangler, at what is now 66 North Queen Street, where, for seven years, he laid the foundation of his later literary career.

The year 1857 found him in Mexico, at the then city of El Paso (now Ciudad Juarez). What is now the city of El Paso (then called Franklin) was but an assemblage of one-story adobe houses and jacals, containing about one hundred and fifty persons, of whom only fifteen were Americans, and railroads were little more than dreams.

He was associated with his two brothers in the merchandizing and government contracting business. All goods were bought in New York, shipped by sea to Port Lavaca, Texas, thence freighted overland by mule train to El Paso, a distance of about eight hundred miles. At times they were forwarded by rail to St. Louis, thence up the Missouri river to Fort Leavenworth, thence by mule train, consisting of ten wagons with eight mules to each, via Santa Fé and the Rio Grande, a distance of over one thousand miles. Dr. Diffenderffer's last trip over this route was made in 1865 when he left Lancaster on May 16 and reached El Paso on October 26, having been on the road, traveling or trying to do so, for five months and ten days, during which time, because of heavy rains and bad roads, he passed one entire month in a single camp on a slight elevation of the prairie.

Naturally, he became thoroughly familiar with the Spanish language which resulted in an amusing incident during the meeting of the Society at the time of the late Spanish War, when, in company with his friend, Dr. Sachse, he endeavored to gain admission into the Carpenter Steel Works at Reading, Pa., where armor piercing shells were made for the Government. Unfortunately,

as they approached the conversation was in Spanish and the story soon spread about that two enemy spies were in town, causing considerable excitement for a while.

It is deserving of mention, at this point, that, during the absence of the regular incumbent of the office in the service of his country as an officer in Admiral Sampson's fleet, Dr. Diffenderffer, most kindly and unselfishly, resumed temporarily the duties of Secretary which, of course, were performed with his usual ability.

In 1871 he returned to Lancaster, and, with his brothers, established the banking firm of Diffenderffer Brothers, but the panic of 1873 necessitated an abandonment of the business, when, for a few years, he was engaged in tobacco packing and in assisting Mr. J. J. Sprenger in the publication of the *Morning Review* newspaper.

When the *New Era* paper was established in Lancaster, by Messrs. Warfel and Geist in 1877, he was invited by his old friend, Mr. Geist, to assume the position of associate editor, which he held continuously for a period of thirty years, during which long time the closest friendship existed between the two men, without a discordant word.

His active literary career may be said to have dated from this time, although for years previously he had been a contributor to the Lancaster press.

The amount of this literary work was exceedingly great. Outside of his purely editorial portion of it he contributed largely to the local columns, especially in connection with the tobacco industry with which he was thoroughly familiar, and to which he had given much time and study. He made his paper an authority on the subject of local tobacco growing and statistics. He was the Lancaster correspondent of the *U. S. Tobacco Journal,* the *Tobacco Leaf, Bradstreet's Louisville Tobacco Journal,* and was the first editor

of the *Lancaster Tobacco Journal* founded in 1891. He wrote lengthy articles for the State Agricultural Department, and a voluminous article for the United States Census Report of 1880, which met with so much favor that he received for it a remuneration considerably in excess of the contract price. As a delegate sent to Washington from some of the Northern States he succeeded in having the duty on Sumatran tobacco fixed at two dollars per pound. He also contributed complete articles on tobacco culture to Ellis and Evans' "History of Lancaster County," to Hensel's "History of Lancaster County," Forney's "Press," and other publications.

Even prior to his connection with the *New Era* Dr. Diffenderffer had become an earnest student of Pennsylvania history, especially so with regard to local history, furnishing articles to various papers and magazines, such as the *Reformed Church Review, The Lancaster Farmer,* and *Christian Culture,* with a notable one on the Juliana Library for Ellis and Evans' "History of Lancaster County," which, for the first time, made known the facts with regard to that interesting literary venture, and to which no additions have since been made.

While yet a young bookseller he has stated that he felt he ought to know something of the inside of the books he handled, as well as their sizes, bindings and general make up. Two of his strongest early passions were a love of reading and a love of knowledge, and both were present in his mind during most of the hours of day as well as those of dreaming night. As his memory was good he was able to retain, until his latter days, much of what he thus absorbed. To read over a favorite poem several times, be it long or short, was sufficient, and it was ever a

delight to him to recall the contents of some such volumes which he had stored away.

It was this characteristic of his which prompted Lloyd Mifflin, Litt.D., a Lancaster county poet of more than national fame, to dedicate to the Doctor a beautiful sonnet entitled "The Conestoga River," which was handsomely illustrated and was written in response to his paper entitled a "Plea for the Conestoga River," read before the Lancaster County Historical Society.

The first of his more important local contributions was a "History of the Three Earls" (townships in Lancaster County), which met with a full measure of success, and, later, was bodily incorporated into Ellis and Evans' "History of Lancaster County." In 1910 appeared his "History of the Farmers' Trust Company of Lancaster," a goodly octavo with numerous illustrations.

As might be expected his most pretentious works were for the Pennsylvania-German Society which was so dear to him.

When it was so happily decided to begin a continuous and complete "History of Pennsylvania as developed under German Influence," there was assigned to him the very early subject of "The German Exodus to England in 1709," being Part II of the history, a splendid exposition of that great "Massen-auswanderung der Pfalzer," comprising 157 octavo pages with 16 handsome plates, besides many excellent head and tail pieces. This was a work of much research on a subject of great importance, then but little known from an authoritative standpoint. It formed a part of Vol. VII, published 1897.

Later, when earnestly requested so to do, he consented to prepare Part VII of the history, which appeared in Vol. X, published 1900, under two he.dings, (1) "The Ger-

man Immigration into Pennsylvania through the Port of Philadelphia from 1700 to 1775," and (2) "The Redemptioners," comprising, altogether, 348 octavo pages with 22 equally excellent plates as illustrations.

It would be difficult to express in words the value of these works, filled as they were with rare documents. They appeared as separate reprints from the press of the *New Era,* and were so eagerly sought that, in a comparatively brief time the entire editions were completely exhausted.

The very favorable press notices with regard to them, which Dr. Diffenderffer took a proper pride in gathering into his scrap book, were most numerous, and were confined not only to local surrounding papers but also appeared in the great metropolitan journals, such as the *New York Tribune, New York Times,* Philadelphia *Ledger, Record, Times,* and other prominent magazines and periodicals.

Very naturally, his greatest literary activities were in connection with the Lancaster County Historical Society of which he was one of the founders, and its first Secretary for a period of seven years, when he resigned to become its first vice-president, a position he held until 1916 when he was elected president. The papers written for this Society, however, were not of such a scale, in the matter of length and illustration, as the more pretentious works mentioned above. Perhaps as many as two score articles of his have appeared in its first twenty-two volumes of "Papers and Proceedings." As an ardent Pennsylvanian, and a lover of his home county with its people, as well as with his admiration of their sturdy character and industrial energy, he has, in these numerous contributions, paid a loving tribute to the race from which he sprang and of

which he was so proud, a tribute which posterity is not likely to forget at any time.

The following numbers will tend to show the trend of his studies in local history:

Early Local History as revealed by an Old Document..... 1897
Marshall's Diary in its Relation to Lancaster City and County..... 1899
The Story of a Picture..... 1905
Lancaster County Loyalists..... 1908
A Plea for the Conestoga River..... 1912
The First White Man in Pennsylvania and in Lancaster County..... 1913
Seed Time and Harvest..... 1917
The Tauffers, or the German Baptist Brethren..... 1899
The A. Herr Smith Memorial Free Library..... 1911
Historical Sketch of the Lancaster County Agricultural and Horticultural Society..... 1911
Some of the Descendants of John Michael Dübendorf of 1695–1778... 1910
The Early German Printers of Lancaster County.
Bibliography of the Newspapers of Lancaster City and County.
Date Stones with Examples.
Indian Traders' Troubles.
How the New Holland School House was built.
The Play Bills and Theatres of Early Lancaster.

Dr. Diffenderffer for many years was a member of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. In 1901, at the invitation of its then president, Provost Stillé of the University of Pennsylvania, he read a paper before that body on "The Palatine and Quaker as Commonwealth Builders," which met with great favor and many flattering newspaper allusions, was published in book-form and became so scarce that the author himself was without a copy.

He was also one of the organizers of the "Pennsylvania Federation of Historical Societies," which has become so prominent an historical agency in the country, and its president in 1910–11. He was a member of the "American Historical Federation," of the "Pennsylvania History Club," in volume one of whose publications is enumerated

a list of some forty separate articles and books, mostly on historical subjects, which emanated from his pen, and of the "Lancaster Press Club." For a period of fourteen years he was the acting Secretary of the "Lancaster County Horticultural Society" of which he wrote and published a history, and was the first and only secretary of the short-lived "Lancaster County Forestry Association."

He was a member of the board of trustees of the "A. Herr Smith Free Library," and, from the beginning, chairman of the library committee. Of this institution he also wrote and published a history.

As a further evidence of his interest in historical matters it may be mentioned that he established and endowed an alcove in the De Peyster Library connected with Franklin and Marshall College, devoted to Pennsylvania History and Biography, starting the same with about eight hundred bound volumes and pamphlets, selected from his own library. This gift was, to some extent, in grateful recognition of his affection for his old college, which, in 1903, conferred upon him the honorary degree of Litt.D.

When, in 1903, the Legislature of Pennsylvania created an "Advisory Committee for the Preservation of the Public Records," he was appointed a member of the same by Governor Pennypacker, a warm personal friend, and retained in the position continuously through the administrations of Governors Pennypacker, Stuart, Tener, and Brumbaugh.

With somewhat of a distaste for politics, he, nevertheless, became an ardent partisan, and, in every periodic political contest, most actively supported his party—the Republican—in the columns of the *New Era*. He was a member of that party from its organization in 1856, and,

although comparatively a stripling at the time, he was elected secretary of the Fremont Club of Lancaster City. He moved into the Sixth Ward of Lancaster in 1873, then strongly Democratic, but, in 1881, to his own surprise and that of his party, he was elected to the Common Council, the only one of its candidates that pulled through.

For clubs and similar organizations he cared but little. He was, however, a member of the Press Club of Lancaster, in which he took a lively interest, and likewise a member of the Pennsylvania Society Sons of the Revolution.

Being of unadulterated German and Swiss ancestry, on both paternal and maternal sides, since the advent of his family in America some two centuries ago, he could not have otherwise than a warm feeling for the descendants of the bold-hearted yeomanry who began coming into the Province of Pennsylvania so far back as 1683, and who had done so much to make our State the grandest of the entire Sisterhood. He was always a bold defender of their sterling virtues, and, in his earliest book, "The Three Earls," first sounded the bugle blast in their praise and defense, a step which has since been followed by many other writers and historians. He had but little use for the hyphenated German-Americans, and nothing more quickly aroused his ire than aspersions on and flippant allusions to the so-called Pennsylvania-Germans of whom he was so noble and prominent a part.

Dr. Diffenderffer was not a man to push himself to the fore-front for public notice. He was rather of a modest and retiring disposition, perhaps too much so to give him all the credit and honors to which he was so richly entitled, and which, otherwise, might have fallen to him. The Pennsylvania-German Society has lost a great and

good man who, as much as any other, if not more, has shed lustre on its name, and helped to give it the prominent and enviable standing it now occupies. Its members, who best knew him, have lost a sincere friend, a friend who never forgot his friendship, and whose friendship will never be forgotten. Such men are not easily replaced, and such friends are long mourned.

His cheery face and pleasant greetings will be greatly missed at our gatherings.

Before bestowing upon him that peace " which passeth all understanding " our Heavenly Father, in His kindness, permitted him to remain with us, in this world filled with turmoil, trials and oft-times sorrow, until he had attained an age, patriarchal as to years and full of usefulness to his fellow-man.

He was married, in 1873, to Miss Annie Sarah Sprenger. The one offspring of that union was Harold F. Diffenderffer, born December 22, 1877.

H. M. M. R.

Pennsylvania:

THE GERMAN INFLUENCE
IN ITS SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

A Narrative and Critical History

PREPARED BY AUTHORITY OF

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

PART XXXI

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN IN THE BRITISH MILITARY PRISONS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

Publication Committee.

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ELMER B. S. JOHNSON, PH.D.

The Pennsylvania-German in the British Military Prisons of the Revolutionary War

BY

HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG RICHARDS, LITT.D.
LATE UNITED STATES NAVY

Late President of the Pennsylvania-German Society, and formerly Secretary, Member Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Genealogical Society of Pennsylvania, The Authors' Club (London), Société Académique d'Histoire Internationale (Paris), La Ranaissance (Paris), American Asiatic Association, National Geographic Society, Sons of the Revolution, Naval Order of the United States, Military Order, Loyal Legion of the United States, Grand Army of the Republic, Military Order of Foreign Wars of the United States, Naval and Military Order of the Spanish-American War and many other Historical Societies and Military Orders.

AN HISTORICAL SKETCH

PART XXXI. OF A NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY
PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF
THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

LANCASTER, PA.
1924

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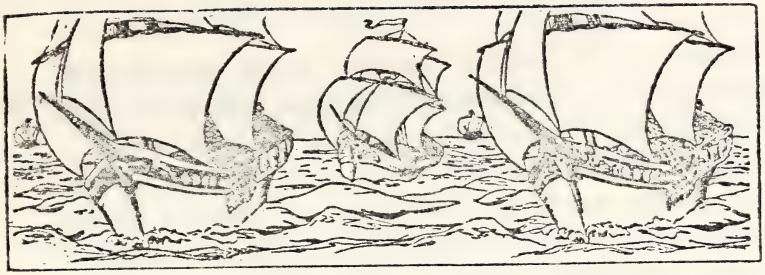

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN IN THE BRITISH MILITARY PRISONS OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

WE are told that a certain lawyer came to our Saviour at one time and asked him which was the greatest of all the commandments. The reply was "Love God and your neighbor."

Had mankind lived up to this divine command there would have been none of the wars, calamities nor desolations which have been our lot during the past century, or more, nor would there have been any occasion for me to appear before you today with the brief contents of this paper whose title has just been announced.

War has its heroes and its horrors. We justly honor the man who, fighting for his country in a righteous cause, braves the terror of death in its many forms, who is not awed by the shriek and bursting of shell, by the roar of cannon or volley of musketry, and who does not shrink from the death-dealing ball of the hidden rifleman. We call such an one a hero.

We are appalled when we mentally picture the horrible field of battle with its hundreds of dead and dying men, the hospital with its groaning and suffering mass of humanity, the ruined and desolated homes, and the poverty and

wretchedness which has been suddenly thrust upon those who, but a few hours before, were happy and prosperous.

My story today is of men who were indeed heroes, who braved all these dangers of war, who were spectators of all its horrors, but who, far and above all that, went through such suffering as seldom falls to the lot of man. They were the Pennsylvania-Germans who were captured on the front line of battle, who not only suffered a living death in the awful British prisons of the Revolution, but who there actually laid down their lives for their country rather than to desert its cause when time and again tempted to so do by flattering offers of the enemy.

So terrible were the sufferings of these victims of heartless and rapacious British hirelings that the student of history, who, today, reads the scanty memoirs emanating from the pens of a few of the very few survivors, can hardly be brought to give credence to what he sees on the printed page. There are men still living who have passed through the horrors of Andersonville, Florence, Salisbury, Libby, and other prisons of our Civil War, and humanity stands aghast at what they have to say of their experience while there, but it is probable that the sufferings of those confined in the British Prisons of our Revolutionary War exceeded even those horrors, if such be possble.

When Dante wanted to give a preliminary idea of the fearful misery which fell to the lot of those who were consigned to the gloomy abode of Satan, he wrote over the portal to the infernal regions these words, "Who enters here leave Hope behind."

He could think of nothing more terrible or awe-inspiring. And there is nothing more terrible, for to live without hope is worse than death itself. It was in this way

thousands of Revolutionary patriots, many of them our Pennsylvania-German ancestors, entered the doors of their prisons, to issue from them no more as living beings.

Our record begins with the battle of Long Island on August 27, 1776. It was there and then that the British commander-in-chief hoped to surprise and capture Washington's army, thus bringing the war to a speedy close. The details of this critical and sanguinary conflict have already been given in a previous volume. It is sufficient to repeat that it was the Pennsylvania-Germans who comprised the larger part of the 5,000 American troops there engaged, and who, by their own sacrifice, frustrated the well-laid plans of the enemy.

The American troops on Long Island consisted of two battalions of Colonel Miles' Pennsylvania Rifle Regiment, on the extreme left, in which were at least four companies all of whose members were practically of that blood, with many scattered throughout the other companies; in the centre was Atlee's Pennsylvania Musketry Battalion, with two such companies, also the Maryland and Delaware Battalions of Colonels Smallwood and Hazlet, the former composed of many Pennsylvania-Germans with doubtless some in the latter; supporting them were the Connecticut Regiment of Colonel Willis, and a part of Lutz's Berks County Battalion of Pennsylvania Associators; on the right were Colonel Kichlein's Northampton County Associators of Pennsylvania, the remainder of Lutz's Berks County Associators of Pennsylvania, also Associators of various battalions from Lancaster and York Counties, practically all of whom were Pennsylvania-Germans.

The close of the battle saw the ground strewn with dead,

and some 800 to 1,000 American prisoners in the hands of the British, largely of Pennsylvania-German origin.

For these prisoners there were no available accommodations ashore, so it was resolved to make use of such vessels as chanced to be at hand, consisting of transports in which cattle and other stores had been brought over in 1776, which were anchored in Gravesend Bay, and on which those captured at Long Island were confined until the British had taken possession of New York City when they were removed to their horrible quarters in that city.

In 1778 the hulks of decaying ships were moored in the Wallabout, the site of our present Brooklyn Navy Yard. These prison ships were intended for sailors and seamen taken on the ocean, mostly the crews of privateersmen, but some soldiers were also sent to languish in their holds.

Among the first of all these ships was the transport *Pacific,* the *Lord Rochford,* which lay off Utrecht, the *Woolly,* the snow (a two-masted, square-rigged vessel) *Mentor,* the *Whitby,* the *Grosvenor,* anchored in the North River, the *Jersey,* followed by *The Good Hope, Prince of Wales, Falmouth, Kitty, Scorpion, Stromboli, Hunter, Frederick, John, Chatham, Glasgow, Woodlands, Scheldt, Clyde* and doubtless others.

From the private journal of Captain John Nice, of Atlee's Musketry Battalion, we learn that, after the battle of August 27, 1776, the prisoners, in whom we are probably interested, were sent, under a strong guard, to "a small town down the island, called Flatbush," where they were turned over to a battalion of Hessians who treated them well. May it have been because of similar national origin and language.

On August 31st the Hessians were relieved by High-

landers when all the private soldiers were sent to Gravesend and lodged in two churches.

On September 3, under guard, they were sent on board the *Mentor,* Captain Davis, and placed on short rations, ½ lb. pork and 10 ounces of bread per man daily.

September 5th trasferred to the transports *Woolly* and *Rochford* which, on September 22nd, passed up the Narrows and anchored between Governor's and Gallows Islands until September 29th when they sailed up the North River and dropped anchor opposite Paulus Hook, where they remained until October 7, when they were landed in New York City.

The suffering on all of these vessels was terrible, and we cannot doubt but what, during the comparatively brief time they were attached to them, our Pennsylvania-German patriots endured their full share of it, yet, as these ships eventually became the prisons, in most instances, of captured seamen, and as our own record has to do largely with what happened on shore, we will not attempt to go into details, which, to a great extent, are lacking, but merely refer, in a general way, to the experience of such as were, unhappily, confined on the prison-ships.

General Jeremiah Johnson, who, as a boy, lived near Wallabout Bay during the Revolution, says:

> A large transport called the Whitby, was the first prison ship anchored in the Wallabout. She was moored near Remsen's mill about the 20th of October, 1776, and was then crowded with prisoners. Many landsmen were prisoners on board this vessel: she was said to be the most sickly of all the prison ships. Bad provisions, bad water, and scanty rations were dealt to the prisoners. No medical men attended the sick. Disease reigned unrelieved and hundreds died from pestilence, or were starved on

board this floating Prison. I saw the sand beach, between a ravine in the hill and Mr. Remsen's dock, become filled with graves in the course of two months; and before the first of May, 1777, the ravine alluded to was itself occupied in the same way.

In the month of May, 1777, two large ships were anchored in the Wallabout, when the prisoners were transferred from the Whitby to them. These vessels were also very sickly from the causes before started. Although many prisoners were sent on board of them, and none exchanged, death made room for all.

On a Sunday afternoon about the middle of October, 1777, one of these prison ships was burnt. The prisoners, except a few, who, it was said, were burnt in the vessel, were removed to the remaining ship. It was reported, at the time, that the prisoners had fired their prison, which, if true, proves that they preferred death, even by fire, to the lingering sufferings of pestilence and starvation. In the month of February, 1778, the remaining prison ship was burnt, when the prisoners were removed from her to the ships then wintering in the Wallabout.

Of all these the old *Jersey,* or the *Hell* as she was termed—and properly termed from the terrible sufferings her thousands of occupants endured—won the most infamous notoriety.

The writer previously mentioned adds with regard to her:

This *Jersey* was an old sixty-four gun battleship. When she was anchored in the Wallabout, about 300 yeards from shore, she was dismantled, even her figure-head was removed; her bowsprit was left as a derrick. Her portholes were nailed close, and four small holes, twenty inches square, were cut for what was, with cruel satire, termed ventilation, and were securely grated with iron cross bars. She was "an old unsightly hulk whose dark and filthy external appearance fitly represented the death and despair that reigned within." By day the prisoners were permitted to

remain for a time on deck, but at sunset all were ordered below; the incredible sufferings at night during the summer months bore plentiful results. The brutal cry of the British soldiers down the hold each morning, "Bring up the dead," never failed to secure active and plentiful response.

The men died like rotten sheep, were carelessly sewed in blankets, and buried on the shore by their wretched survivors. Even the relief of sexton's work was so great to those miserable, pent-up creatures, that they contended eagerly for the privilege of going ashore to dig the graves.

At the expiration of the war, the wretched prisoners who had lived and dragged through the horrors of the old *Jersey,* were liberated, and the old hulk, within whose vile walls so many had suffered and died, was abandoned where she lay. The dread of contagion prevented every one from venturing on board, and even from approaching her polluted frame. But ministers of destruction were at work. Her planks were soon filled with worms that ceased not from their labor until they had penetrated her decaying bottom with holes, through which the water rushed in, until she sank. With her went down the names of thousands of our Revolutionary patriots, for her inner planks and sheathing were literally covered with names; for few of her inmates had neglected to add their carved autographs or initials to the almost innumerable catalogue of sufferers. Could these be known, some correct estimate might be made of the whole number who were there immured. But the vessel was consigned to eternal oblivion, and the precise number of martyrs who perished in the prison ships, and who were buried in the loose sands of the lonely Wallabout, can never be accurately known. It was estimated shortly after the close of the war, when the data were more easily obtainable than now, that the monstrous horror of eleven thousand died in the *Jersey* alone. This appalling statement was never denied, either officially or by any persons then resident in New York, who, from their connection with the British commissary depart-

ment, had opportunity of knowing the truth. Certainly that estimate cannot be exaggerated if applied to the mortality, not of the *Jersey* alone, but of all the prison ships.

The catastrophe at Long Island was speedily followed by the calamity of Fort Washington, erected in July, 1776, at Kingsbridge, near New York City, and, on November 16th, 1776, captured after an engagement, with the survivors of its garrison, as a result of combined treachery and mismanagement. The prisoners here taken numbered 2,673 privates and 210 officers, swelling the total in the hands of the British at that time to nearly 4,000.

It will be evident at once to how large an extent the Pennsylvania-Germans were identified with this unfortunate event when we realize that, in its garrison, were numbered the Third and Fifth Pennsylvania Battalions together with the broken companies of Atlee's Musketry Battalion, Kichlein's and other Pennsylvana-German Associators, and Colonel Rawling's Regiment of Virginia Riflemen, largely Pennsylvania-German, from the mountains of what is now West Virginia.

In the Fifth Pennsylvania Battalion were the Pennsylvania-German companies of:

Captain John Spohn, from Berks County.
Captain Peter Decker, from Berks County.
Captain John Miller, from Germantown.
Captain Nathaniel Vansandt, from Berks and Bucks Counties.

To provide quarters for all their prisoners sundry buildings in New York City were seized by the British, including several sugars houses, dissenting churches, Columbia College and the Hospital.

Prisons on Shore.

When the British occupied New York City the only existing prisons were the New Jail and the New Bridewell, between the City Hall (afterwards the Custom House) and Broadway. The former, later the Hall of Records, was made a Provost Prison, in which officers and men of note were confined. At one time they were so crowded in this building that, when they lay down to sleep, all in the row were obliged to turn over at the same time at the call, "Turn over! Left! Right!"

The sugar houses comprised the following:

Van Cortlandt's which stood on the northwest corner of Trinity Church-yard.

Rhinelander's, on the corner of William and Duane Streets.

Liberty Street Sugar House, occupied later by numbers 34 and 36 of that street, a tall, narrow building five stories in height and with dismal underground dungeons. This became the worst and most infamous of all the New York shore prisons. In its gloomy abode jail fever was ever present. During the hot weather of July, 1777, companies of twenty at a time would be sent out for half an hour's outing in the court-yard. Inside groups of six stood for ten minutes at a time at the windows for a breath of air. There were no seats; the filthy straw bedding was never changed. Every day, at least a dozen corpses were dragged out and pitched, like dead dogs, into the ditches and morasses beyond the city.

The North Dutch Church, on William Street, contained eight hundred prisoners, and there were perhaps as many in the Middle Dutch Church, just north of the Liberty

Street Sugar House. The Friend's Meeting House, on Liberty Street, was also used as a prison, together with other buildings erected for the worship of God, as the Quaker Meeting House, on Queen Street, in charge of Dr. Dibuke, who had been at least once convicted of stealing in Europe, and had fled to America for protection. Here many hundreds perished from lack of attention, one of the prisoners (Captain Jabez Fitch), stating that "he had often been in danger of being stabbed for attempting to speak to a prisoner in ye yard," and that the inhuman gaoler "often made application of his cane among ye sick instead of other medicines." Others of these were the Presbyterian Church, at New Utrecht, the Presbyterian Church in Wall Street, the Scotch Church in Cedar Street, the two latter with the Brick Church and Friend's Meeting House, being, later, converted into hospitals, also the Baptist Meeting House, and the French Church.

Before giving some details showing the terrible sufferings endured in these prisons, and before referring to the brutality of those who caused them, let us, at this time, consider, as well as we can, the casualties sustained by our ancestors.

It is unfortunate that, as regards the various battalions of Associators, there is practically nothing on record. We can but surmise their losses by comparison with such as are known of other organizations. We have, however, the muster rolls of Captain Arndt's company from Northampton County, in Colonel Kichlein's Battalion, which shows that they went into the battle of Long Island with 102 officers and men of whom but 33 were left after the surrender of Fort Washington, the remainder being killed, wounded or captured.

Lutz's Berks County Battalion of Associators lost its commander, Lieut.-Colonel Lutz, its major, three captains, one lieutenant, and fully three hundred men, so far as we can tell from data on hand.

The First Battalion of Associators, Colonel Michael Swope, from York County, suffered severely at Long Island and Fort Washington. Captain Graeff's company was captured in the former battle, only eighteen men returning to join their command. Captain Stake's company lost many in the latter engagement. Ensign Jacob Barnitz, of York, was wounded at Long Island and lay in prison for fifteen months. Captain Joseph Hiester, of Reading, later Governor of Pennsylvania, captured at Long Island, was exchanged December 8 for Captain Strong, 26th British Regiment, and succeeded in getting home but so feeble and emaciated, from a slow and wasting fever contracted while imprisoned, that he was obliged to crawl up the stairs on his hands and knees.

We are more fortunate in having an authentic report of the losses sustained by the commands of Colonel Miles and Colonel Atlee at Long Island, under date of September 8, 1776, taken from a muster roll of these three battalions, which was compared with the accounts kept by the British, secured under flag of truce. They show killed and missing as follows:

	Officers.	Men.
First Battalion, Rifle Regiment	13	120
Second Battalion, Rifle Regiment	7	48
Musketry Battalion	12	77

This does not include the losses sustained at Fort Washington, which were not recorded but which must have been heavy, among them being Captain Abraham DeHuff and Lieutenant Robert Caldwell, both of Lancaster County.

In the *Pennsylvania Archives* is given a list of twenty-seven privates of Colonel Miles' and Colonel Atlee's Battalions who were exchanged December 9th, 1776. As this is about the time those prisoners, taken at Long Island and Fort Washington, were released and exchanged, their term of service expiring, if it be a fact that this list is complete, and that these were the only survivors of the many originally taken prisoners from these battalions, it needs but little calculation to show what a fearful mortality must have occurred amongst them during their captivity.

The records of the Third Battalion, taken at the surrender of Fort Washington, are lacking in every detail, but, from the meagre returns on hand, especially those of October 7, 1776, their losses in killed, wounded and missing were some 350, of which practically all were the latter.

In the case of the Fifth Battalion we have what appears to be an official return of its commander, Major John Beatty, taken immediately after November 16th, 1776, which gives:

Rank and file fit for duty, sick and present (November 15th)	280
Ditto taken prisoners	237
Killed and escaped	43

We are especially fortunate in having further data of this battalion, comprising muster rolls (even if incomplete), and, likewise a correct "List of Prisoners returned from New York to barracks at Philadelphia, January 11, 1777," showing that of the 237 originally captured but 83 were liberated on December 26, 1776. It is sad to glance at the list of those recorded as "died in prison," "died of wounds," "died two days prior to exchange,"

of which there were thirteen in Captain Vansandt's company alone. The rest are marked as "escaped, or absent sick." In other words they were unaccounted for, and the bones of most of them today rest in unknown and unhallowed graves because few indeed were those who succeeded in escaping from their prisons.

During the Civil War the world was shocked to learn that, of 45,613 prisoners in the stockade at Andersonville, 12,912 died there. Twenty-nine per cent. of those who set foot in that place of suffering died there.

And yet, awful as is that record, it is hard to realize that it does not compare with what our Pennsylvania-German patriots of 1776 endured in their captivity. Lossing, in his "Field Book of the Revolution," says that, out of the 2,600 private soldiers captured at Fort Washington, in two months and four days 1,900 were killed in the infamous sugar houses and other prisons of New York City, which figures are confirmed by Lieutenant Henry Bedinger, a Pennsylvania-German survivor, and agree with careful contemporaneous calculations.

How many of the miserable remnant would have gotten out alive, even though their terms of service had expired, our Heavenly Father alone knows, had He not given to the American cause the victories at Trenton and Princeton at the close of 1776, which placed in Washington's hands many prisoners to be used in exchange for those who were British captives, or, at least, put him in a position to alleviate their sufferings.

At this point the question naturally arises as to who was responsible for the misery and sufferings in these prisons.

Judge Thomas Jones, a noted loyalist of the day, re-

moved to England after the war where he died in 1792, having first completed his "History of New York during the Revolution." We give his statements just as they are written:

Upon the close of the campaign in 1776 there were not less than 10,000 prisoners (sailors included) within the British lines in New York. A Commissary of Prisoners was therefore appointed, and one Joshua Loring, a Bostonian, was commissioned to the office with a guinea a day, and rations of all kinds for himself and family. In this appointment there was reciprocity. Loring had a handsome wife. The General, Sir William Howe, was fond of her. Joshua made no objections. He fingered the cash: the General enjoyed Madam. Everybody supposing the next campaign (should the rebels ever risk another) would put a final period to the rebellion, Loring was determined to make the most of his commission and by appropriating to his own use nearly two-thirds of the rations allowed the prisoners, he actually starved to death about three hundred of the poor wretches before an exchange took place, and which was not until February, 1777, and hundreds that were alive at the time were so emaciated and enfeebled for want of provisions, that numbers died on the road on their way home, and many lived but a few days after reaching their habitations. The war continuing, the Commissaryship of Prisoners grew so lucrative that in 1778 the Admiral thought proper to appoint one for naval prisoners. Upon the French War a Commissary was appointed for France. When Spain joined France another was appointed for Spain. When Great Britain made war upon Holland a Commissary was appointed for Dutch prisoners. Each had a guinea a day, and rations for himself and family. Besides, the prisoners were half starved as the Commissaries filched their provisions and disposed of them for their own use. It is a known fact, also, that whenever an exchange was to take place the preference was given to those who had, or could procure, the most money to present to

the Commissiaries who conducted the exchange, by which means large sums of money were unjustly extorted and demanded from the prisoners at every exchange, to the scandal and disgrace of Britons. We had five Commmissaries of Prisoners, when one could have done all the business. Each Commissary had a Deputy, a Clerk, a Messenger in full pay, with rations of every kind.

As Judge Jones was an ardent Tory it could scarcely be imagined that he would exaggerate in describing the corruption of the commissaries. He greatly deplored the cruelties with which he taxed General Howe and other officials, and declared that these enormities prevented all hopes of reconciliation with Great Britain.

While, in justice to the fair name of Great Britain, it is unbelievable that its superior officers would, in person, have perpetrated such foul acts as pertained to its prisons, yet they were culpable to the extent that they were willing to give so little attention to what was going on. The direct guilt lay with the corrupt and cruel subordinates who were placed in charge of the prisoners. As our Civil War brought forth the infamous wretch, Captain Wirz of Andersonville Prison, so the War of the Revolution produced the monster, Captain Cunningham, the Provost of British prisons in New York City.

Captain William Cunningham.

William Cunningham was an Irishman, born in Dublin Barracks in 1738. His father was trumpeter in the Blue Dragoons. When sixteen he became an assistant to the riding-master of the troop. In 1761 he was made sergeant of dragoons, but, peace being proclaimed the following year, the company to which he belonged was disbanded. He then took up the business of a "Scow-banker," entic-

ing rustics and mechanics to ship to America on the promise of having their fortunes made in that country, but, through forged and wrongfully obtained indentures, secured their sale as servants and redemptioners upon arrival.

About 1774 he appears to have embarked from Newry, in the ship *Needham,* for New York, with some of his victims who had been kidnapped in Ireland. These poor creatures are said to have been treated so cruelly by him on the passage that, in pity, they were set free by the authorities upon arrival at their destination.

When Cunningham first appeared in New York he offered himself as a horse-breaker and insinuated himself in the favor of the British officers by blatant toryism. He soon became obnoxious to the Whigs of that city, was mobbed, and fled to the *Asia* man-of-war for protection. From thence he went to Boston, where General Gage appointed him Provost Marshal. When the British took possession of New York he followed them to that place, burning with desire to be revenged upon his enemies, the Whigs.

He is said to have compassed the death of thousands of prisoners by selling their provisions, exchanging good for spoiled food, and even by poisoning them. Many also fell victims to his murderous violence. About two hundred and fifty of these poor creatures were taken out of their places of confinement at midnight and hanged, without trial, simply to gratify his blood-thirsty instincts. Private execution was conducted in the following manner. A guard was first dispatched from the Provost, about midnight, to the upper barracks, to order the people in the line of march to close their window shutters and put out

their lights, forbidding them at the same time to presume to look out of their windows on pain of death. After this the prisoners were gagged and conducted to the gallows just behind the upper barracks, where they were hanged without ceremony, and afterwards buried by his assistant, a mulatto.

This practice is said to have been stopped by the women along the line of march from the Provost to the barracks. They appealed to General Howe to prevent further executions, as the noise made by the sufferers, praying for mercy and appealing to Heaven for justice, was dreadful to hear.

It would seem from this account that, although the wretched men were gagged, as they were conveyed along the streets, their ferocious murderer could not deny himself the pleasure of hearing their shrieks of agony at the gallows (Danske Dandridge).

It is said of him, in a pamphlet entitled "The Old Martyrs' Prison," that "his hatred of the Americans found vent in torture by searing irons and secret scourges to those who fell under the ban of his displeasure. The prisoners were crowded together so closely that many fell ill from partial asphyxiation, and starved to death from want of the food which he sold to enrich himself."

They were given muddy and impure water to drink, and that not in sufficient quantities to sustain life. Their allowance, nominally, was two pounds of hard-tack and two of pork per week, and this was often uncooked, while either the pork or the biscuit, or both, were usually spoiled and most unwholesome.

Cunningham destroyed Nathan Hale's last letters containing messages to his loved ones, in order, as he said,

that "the rebels should not know that they had a man in their army who could die with such firmness."

The complaints as to his cruel treatment of the prisoners in his charge finally became so great and numerous that, in the Fall of 1777, General Washington wrote to General Howe, or Clinton, reciting them, and requesting an examination into their truth. The result was a promise, from General Howe, that punishment would be meted the offender. He does not seem to have been very severely punished, as, so far as is known, he was merely transferred to Philadelphia, then in British hands, and placed in charge of its prisons, where he continued his inhuman practices, and where, we are told, one of his unhappy victims, driven to the last extreme of hunger, gnawed his own fingers, to the first joint, from the hand, before he expired. Others ate the mortar and stone which they chipped from the prison walls, while some were found with bits of wood and clay in their mouths, which, in their death agonies, they had sucked to find nourishment (Dr. Albigeme Waldo, an American Surgeon at Valley Forge).

Again complaint was made and Cunningham was removed from Philadelphia only to be restored to his old position in New York. He remained there until November, 1783, when he embarked on board a British man-of-war, and America was no longer cursed with his presence. What then became of him is unknown, although it is said that he was hanged, on August 10, 1791, for forgery.

Oliver Bunce, in his "Romance of the Revolution," thus speaks of the inhumanity of Cunningham:

> But of all atrocities those committed in the prisons and prison ships of New York are the most execrable, and indeed there is nothing in history to excel the barbarities there inflicted. Twelve

thousand suffered death by their inhuman, cruel, savage and barbarous usage on board the filthy and malignant prison ships adding those who died and were poisoned in the infected prisons in the city, a much larger number would be necessary to include all those who suffered by command of British generals in New York. The scenes enacted in these prisons almost exceed belief. Cunningham, the like of whom, for unpitying, relentless cruelty, the world has not produced, thirsted for blood, and took an eager delight in murder.

Some Personal Experiences.

It is to be regretted that, with but one exception, no journals seem to be in existence which were written by Pennsylvania-Germans setting forth their experience in these prisons. However, we have those of others, confined in the same places and who underwent the same sufferings, and from these we can readily form some idea of what our fathers had to endure. I propose to give a few quotations from these memoirs.

That one exception is in the case of Major Henry Bedinger in part of a leter to a son of General Samuel Finley.

Henry Bedinger was descended from an old German family, his grandfather emigrating to America from Alsace in 1737. The highest rank attained by him in the War of the Revolution was that of Captain.

The following extracts are taken from this letter:

. . . until the Spring of 1775, when Congress called on the State of Virginia for two Complete Independent Volunteer Companies of Riflemen of 100 men each, to assist Gen'l Washington in the Siege of Boston & to serve one year. Captain Hugh Stephenson of Berkeley, and Daniel Morgan of Frederick were selected to raise and command those companies, they being the first Regular troops required to be raised in the State of Virginia for Continental service.

Captain Hugh Stephenson's rendezvous was Shepherd's Town (now Martinsburg) and Captain Morgan's was Winchester . . . (both of these localities were largely settled by Pennsylvania-Germans, which shows the composition of these celebrated riflemen, Ed.).

. . . Our time of service being about to expire Captain Hugh Stephenson was commissioned a Colonel . . . to raise a rifle regiment for three years . . . Captain Finley and myself were dispatched to Berkeley to recruit and refill the old company, which we performed in about five weeks. . . .

(Here follows a record of their movements with an interesting account of the capture of Fort Washington.)

. . . On the third day after our surrender we were guarded to New York, fourteen miles from Fort Washington, where in the evening we received some barrels of raw pork and musty spoiled biscuit, being the first morsel of provision we had seen for more than three days. The officers were then separated from the soldiers. . . .

. . . Our poor Soldiers fared most wretchedly different. They were crowded into sugar houses and Jails without blankets or covering; had Very little given them to eat, and that little of the Very worst quality. So that in two months and four days about 1900 of the Fort Washington troops had died. . . .

. . . In the fall of 1777 the British commander was informed a plan was forming by a party of Americans to pass over to Long Island and sweep us off, release us from captivity. There were then on the Island about three hundred American officers prisoners. We were of course ordered off immediately, and placed on board of two large transports in the North River as prison ships, where we remained but about 18 days, but it being Very Cold, and we Confined between decks, the Steam and breath of 150 men soon gave us Coughs, then fevers, and had we not been removed back to our billets I believe one half would have died in six weeks. . . .

Captain Alexander Graydon, of the Third Pennsylvania Battalion, was captured at Fort Washington, No-

vember 16, 1776, paroled July 7, 1777, exchanged April, 1778. He became the first prothonotary of Dauphin County, and died at Philadelphia, May 2, 1818, aged 67. He says in his memoirs that, when in charge of his captors, a party of Highlanders, a British officer rode up at full gallop exclaiming, "What! taking prisoners! Kill them, kill every man of them!" Turning around Captain Graydon took off his hat to this officer, saying, "Sir, I put myself under your protection," which seemed to sufficiently rebuke him, and saved their lives. One of the soldiers, desiring his cartridge box, seized the belt and nearly jerked him off his legs in an effort to secure it. Presently a Hessian came along, half drew his sword and thrust himself forward, grunting out in broken English, "Eh! you rebel! you damn rebel!"

They were then marched to an old stable, where, for nearly an hour, officers of the light infantry, mainly "young and insolent puppies," amused themselves by abusing and cursing them, assuring them that every man of them would certainly be hanged.

Finally the prisoners were marched within six miles of New York, and Graydon's party of officers were well quartered in a house. "Here," he continues, "for the first time we drew provisions for the famished soldiers." Previous to entering the city they were drawn up, for about an hour, on the high ground near the East River, where the officers were separated from the men, conducted in a church and allowed to sign a parole. Speaking of the prisons in which the privates were confined he says, "I once and once only ventured to penetrate into these abodes of human misery and despair. But to what purpose repeat my visit, when I had neither relief to administer nor

comfort to bestow? I endeavored to comfort them with the hope of exchange, but humanity forbade me to counsel them to rush on to sure destruction. Our condition was a paradise to theirs. Thousands of my unhappy countrymen were consigned to slow, consuming tortures, equally fatal and potent to destruction."

Jonathan Gillett (lieutenant probably), of West Harford, was a prisoner two years, and then allowed to go home to die. He exhibited every symptom of poison, as well as starvation. During his confinement he wrote a letter to his friends, on December 2, 1776, which has been preserved and is as follows:

My Friends:

No doubt my misfortunes have reached your ears. Sad as it is, it is true as sad. I was made prisoner (at Long Island) the 27th day of August by a people called heshens, and by a party called Yagers, the most Inhuman of all Mortals. I can't give Room to picture them here but thus much—I at first Resolved not to be taken, but by the Impertunity of Seven taken with me, and being surrounded on all sides, I unhappily surrendered; would to God I never had—then I should never (have) known their unmerciful cruelties; they first disarmed me, then plundered me of all I had, watch, Buckles, money and sum clothing, after which they abused me by bruising my flesh with the butts of their (guns). They knocked me down; I got up and they (kept on) beating me almost all the way to their (camp) where I got shut of them—the next thing was I was almost starved to death by them. I was kept here 8 days and then sent on board a ship, where I continued 39 days by (them was treated) much worse than when on shore—after I was set on (shore) at New York (I was) confined (under) a strong guard till the 20th day of November, after which I have had my liberty to walk over the city between sun and sun.

I was, after put on board, seized violently with the disentary—

it followed me hard upwards of six weeks—after that a slow fever, but now am vastly better . . . my sincere love to you and my children. May God keep and preserve you at all times from sin, sickness and death. I will endeavor to faintly lead you into the poor cituation the soldiers are in, especially those taken at Long Island where I was; in fact these cases are deplorable and they are Real objects of pity—they are still confined and in houses where there is no fire—poor mortals, with little or no clothes—perishing with hunger, offering eight dollars in paper for one in silver to Relieve their distressing hunger, occasioned for want of food—their natures are broke and gone, some almost loose their voices and some their hearing—they are crowded into churches and there guarded night and day. I can't paint the horable appearance they make —it is shocking to human nature to behold them—Could I draw the curtain from before you; there expose to your view a lean jaw'd mortal, hunger laid his skinny hand (upon him) and whet to keenest Edge his stomach cravings, surrounded with tattered garments, Rotten Rags, close beset with unwelcome vermin. Could I do this, I say, possable I might in some (small) manner fix your idea with what appearance sum hundreds of these poor creatures make in houses where once people attempted to Implore God's Blessings, &c., but I must say no more of the calamities. God be merciful to them—I can't afford them no Relief. If I had money I soon would do it, but I have none for myself. . . .

Another of those captured at Long Island, who left his memoirs of prison experience, was Captain Jabez Fitch.

At first his party was taken, August 29, to the transport *Pacific* where, at sundown, they were crowded into a leaky and dirty lower deck where but half of their number could lie down at a time. Loaded cannon were pointed at them with the threat that they would be fired upon the least noise or disturbance during the night. When allowed to come on deck they were insulted in the most vulgar man-

ner, and allowed no water "fit for a beast to drink," although there was a sufficiency of good water on hand. On Sunday, September 1, they were removed to the ship *Lord Rochford,* which lay off New Utrecht and was also crowded. On September 5 they were sent to the snow *Mentor,* which was their prison for a long time, "commanded by one Davis, a very worthless, low-lived fellow." On October 7 they were sent on shore and conducted to a very large house on the west side of Broadway, on the corner of Warren Street near Bridewell.

Speaking of the private soldiers he says that when most of the officers were set at liberty on parole, November 20,

Ye first objects of our attention were ye poor men who had been unhappily captured with us. They had been landed about ye same time yt we were, and confined in several churches and other large Buildings, and although we had often Received Intelligence from them with ye most Deplorable Representation of their miserable Situation, yet when we came to visit them we found their sufferings vastly superior to what we had been able to conceive. Nor are words sufficient to convey an Adequate Idea of their Unparalleled Calamity, Well might ye Phophet say, "They yt be slain with ye sword are better than they yt be slain with hunger, for these pine away, etc"

Their appearance in general Rather Resembled dead Corpses than living men. Indeed great numbers had already arrived at their long home, and ye Remainder appeared far advanced in ye same Journey; their accommodations were in all respects vastly inferior to what a New England Farmer would have provided for his cattle, and although ye commissary pretended to furnish them with two-thirds of ye allowance of ye King's Troops, yet they were cheated out of one-half of that. They were many times entirely neglected from Day to Day, and received no Provision at all; they were also frequently Imposed upon in Regard to ye

Quality as well as Quantity of their provision, Especially in the necessary article of Bread of which they often received such Rotten and mouldy stuff as was entirely unfit for use.

. . . A large number of ye most feeble were removed down to ye Quaker Meeting House on Queen Street, where many hundreds of them perished in a much more miserable Situation than ye dumb Beasts, while those whose particular business it was to provide them relief, paid very little or no attention to their unparalleled sufferings. . . . This house I understand was under ye Superintendence of one Dr. Dibuke. . . .

This Dr. Dibuke is doubtless the same as the one mentioned by Elias Boudinot, in his journal, who says that, when the British Army occupied New York, they found in jail a Frenchman, under condemnation for burglary and robbery, who was " a very loose and ignorant man," and had been a servant. He was set over the prisoners in the hospitable as a surgeon, though entirely ignorant of all medical art. Convinced that he was really murdering those in his charge even a British officer lodged complaint against him. In one instance, as he was about to give a dose of physic to several of the men, a young woman nurse made signs to them not to take it. After the doctor had gone she stated that she suspected it contained poison, and that she had several times heard this Frenchman say that he would have ten rebels dead in such a room and five dead in such another room the next morning, and it always so happened. The medicine was eventually given to a dog who died in a very short time. This same man, in later years, was condemned to die in England for some crime committed, and, at his execution, confessed to the murder of many rebels in prison at New York by poison, and stated that, upon his reporting to General Howe the

number of prisoners dead, his pay was raised. He further confessed that he poisoned the wells used by the American Flying Camp, which caused such an uncommon mortality among them in the year 1776.

In his "Journal of Experiences after the Battle of Long Island," Captain John Nice, of Colonel Atlee's Musketry Battalion, gives us the following itinerary of the movements of the prisoners which is most useful in locating them:

August 29—We were sent under a strong guard to a small town, four miles down the island, called Flat Bush, and were turned over to a battalion of Hessians who used us very well.

August 31—The Highlanders relieved the Hessians and took charge of us. Sent all our private soldiers to Gravesend, where they were lodged in two churches.

September 3—Under guard we went on board the snow *Mentor*, Capt. Davis, and were placed on short allowance, ½ lb Pork and 10 ounces of Bread per man daily.

September 5—Our men were placed on the transports *Woolly* and *Rochford* where we lay until

September 22, when we passed the Narrows and anchored between Governor's and Gallows Islands.

September 29—Sailed up the North River and dropped anchor opposite Powl's Hook (Paulus Hook).

October 7—We were landed in New York and signed a second parole. The New York and New England officers were put in a house together on the Holy Ground; the Marylanders, Delawarians and Pennsylvanians were lodged in the house of Mr. Mariner, on William Street, except the field officers, who had the liberty of hiring a house for themselves.

October 9—Tonight I was insulted by a number of Highland officers, who rushed into the house, abused us with bad language, and struck Lieut. Carnaghan, of the Right Battalion, and Ensign Farnandaz, of the Maryland Battalion, and forced them away to

the guard-house that night. Here they were treated very civil by the sergeant, and the next morning released by order of General Robertson. We heard during the day heavy cannonading in the direction of Forts Washington and Lee.

November 16—Fort Washington was taken.

November 18—The prisoners taken at Fort Washington were brought to New York; the officers lay in the Baptist meeting house that night.

Oliver Woodruff, captured at Fort Washington, left the following record:

We were marched to New York and went into different prisons. Eight hundred and sixteen went into the New Bridewell (between the City Hall and Broadway); some into the Sugar House; others into the Dutch Church. The New Bridewell was a cold, open house, the windows not glazed, without straw to lie on and no fuel but one cart load per week.

We dare not multiply, as we readily might, these tales of misery and suffering. What has already been said is sufficient for our purpose. Surely nothing further is needed to picture the horrors through which our fathers passed who were amongst the unfortunate prisoners of Long Island and Fort Washington. We will therefore conclude by quoting from the account which Colonel Ethan Allen, himself a prisoner, gave of what he there saw. He says:

The prisoners (from Fort Washington) who were brought to New York were crowded into churches, and environed with slavish Hessian guards and at other times by merciless Britons, whose mode of communicating ideas being unintelligible in this country served only to tantalize and insult the helpless and perishing; but above all the hellish delight and triumph of the tories over them, as they were dying by hundreds. This was too much for me to bear as a spectator; for I saw the tories exulting over the dead

bodies of their countrymen. I have gone into the churches and seen sundry of the prisoners in the agonies of death; in consequence of very hunger; and others speechless and near death, biting pieces of chips; others pleading, for God's sake, for something to eat, and at the same time shivering with cold. Hollow groans saluted my ears, and despair seemed to be imprinted on every one of their countenances. The filth in these churches, in consequence of the fluxes, was almost beyond description. I have carefully sought to direct my steps so as to avoid it, but could not. They would beg for God's sake for one copper or morsel of bread. I have seen in one of the churches seven dead, at the same time, lying among the excrements of their bodies.

It was a common practice with the enemy to convey the dead from these filthy places in carts, to be slightly buried, and I have seen whole gangs of tories making derision and exulting over the dead.

The provision dealt out to the prisoners was by no means sufficient for the support of life. It was deficient in Quantity, and much more so in Quality . . . it was loathsome and unfit to be eaten, and I am bold to aver it as my opinion, that it had been condemned and was of the very worst sort . . . bad as it was, it was swallowed almost as quick as they got hold of it. I saw some of them sucking bones after they were speechless; others who could yet speak and had the use of their reason, urged me, in the strongest and most pathetic manner, to use my interest in their behalf . . . but as I could not do them any material service, and by any public attempt for that purpose I might endanger myself by frequenting places the most nauseous and contagious that could be conceived of, I refrained going into the churches . . .

The integrity of these suffering prisoners is incredible, many hundreds of them, I am confident, submitted to death rather than enlist in the British service, which I am informed they most generally were pressed to do. . . .

Meantime mortality raged to such an intolerable degree among the prisoners that the very school children in the street knew the

mental design of it in some measures; at least they knew that they were starved to death. Some poor women contributed to their necessity till their children were almost starved; and all persons of common understanding knew that they were devoted to the cruellest and worst of deaths.

* * * * * * * * * * *

"Ah, rough were the roads that were yours in the march,
And weary and sad were the paths that ye trod,
But peaceful and quiet and flowery the way
Henceforth till earth's heroes are summoned to God."

H. M. M. RICHARDS.

Pennsylvania:

THE GERMAN INFLUENCE
IN ITS SETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT

A Narrative and Critical History

PREPARED BY AUTHORITY OF

THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

PART XXXII

THE EVOLUTION OF AN AMERICAN PATRIOT

PUBLISHED BY THE SOCIETY

Publication Committee.

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ELMER E. S. JOHNSON, PH.D.

Pennsylvanischer Staatsbote.

Diese Zeitung kommt alle Wochen zweymal heraus, näml. Dienstags und Freytags, für Sechs Schillinge des Jahrs.

N.B. *All* ADVERTISEMENTS *to be inserted in this Paper, or printed single by* HENRY MILLER, *Publisher hereof, are by him translated gra*

Besonders merkwürdige Tage im nächsten Junymonat.

Quarters-Sessions-Court zu Philadelphia, den 3ten.
Des Königs von England Geburtstag, den 4ten.
Lehanley Fair für Salem, den 4ten.
Court von Common-Pleas zu Philadelphia, d. 5ten.
Portkaun Fair, den 10ten.
Orphans-Court zu Philadelphia, den 10ten.
Salem Fair für Gloucester, den 11ten.
Quarter-Sessions-Court und Court von Common-Pleas zu Bretaun, in Bucks County, d. 11ten.
Lancaster Fair, den 12ten.
Quarter-Sessions-Court zu Easton, in Northampton County, den 18ten.

Philadelphia, den 28 May.

Gestern vor acht tagen wurde, nach vorheriger gehöriger Anzeige, an dem hiesigen Stadthaus eine versammlung von einer sehr grossen anzahl einwohner dieser Stadt und Freyheiten gehalten.

Der Herr Major John Bayard, als Vorsitzer der Aufsichts- und Wahrnehmungs Committee der Stadt und Freyheiten von Philadelphia &c. that dem volk zu wissen, das die versammlung deswegen berufen sey, zur erfindung einer beträchtlichen anzahl ansehnlicher bürger. Hierauf wurde der Herr Oberste Daniel Roberdeau zum Vorsitzer bestimmet und nahm solche alsdann ein.—Sodann ward

Vorgeschlagen, Daß der Schluß des Congresses vom 15ten dieses solle verlesen werden.—Worauf derselbige verlesen ward.

[Der Schluß des Congresses ist zu sehen in dem zweyten Stück dieser Zeitung.]

Das volk machte zum zeugniß seiner herzlichen gesinnungen ein dreymaliges freudengeschrey.

Vorgeschlagen, Daß die durch das Haus der Assemblie ihren Abgeordneten am Congreß ertheilten unterrichte gelesen werden sollen, und solche wurden demnächst gelesen, und sind wie folgt:

Ihr Herren.

Das in euch gesetzte vertrauen ist von einer solchen natur und die arten es auszuführen, fordern in dem lauf eurer berathschlagungen so verschieden seyn, daß es kaum möglich ist euch besondere unterrichte in anfügung deßen zu ertheilen.

Wir weisen euch daher überhaupt an, daß ihr, oder einige viere von euch, mit den anderen in dieser stadt versammleten Abgeordneten der verschiedenen Colonien, und einigen solchen Abgeordneten die nächstes jahr im Congreß zusammen kommen werden, euch versichtet; mit einem rath sobald über den jetzigen gefährlichen und schrecklichen zustand der öffentlichen sachen; daß ihr eure äusserste bemühungen anstrenget solche maasregeln auszumachen und anzuempfehlen, welche ihr urtheilen werdet die beste aussicht zu verschaffen abhelfung von Americanischen beschwerden zu erlangen, und einigkeit und übereinstimmung zwischen Grossbritannien und den Colonien herzustellen, so wesentlich für die wohlfahrt und glückseligkeit beyder länder.

Obwol die unterdrückende maasregeln des Brittischen Parlaments und Staatsverwaltung uns gezwungen haben ihrer gewaltthätigkeit durch die macht der waffen zu widerstehen; so schärfen wir euch gleichwol genau ein, daß ihr, im namen dieser Colonien unsers vorhabens, wofern dergleichen gethan werden sollen, die trennung von unserm Mutterlande oder eine veränderung der form dieses gouvernements verursachen oder dahin abzwecken möchten, entgegen seyd und selbige abmahlen sollet.

Ihr seyd anzuweisen diesem hause bericht von eurem verfahren abzustatten.

Unterschrieben auf Verordnung des Hauses,
John Morton, Sprecher.

Den 9ten November 1775.

Der Herr Oberste Thomas Mac Kean berichtete, daß, weil die Committee der Stadt und Freyheiten eine gefährliche abzweckung vermuthete, unterrichte befürchtete, so hätte solche dem Achtbaren Hause der Assemblie ein memorial übergeben, worin sie bitten daß solche unterrichte möchten fruchtlos gemacht werden. Das Haus aber hätte, nachdem es gemeldetes memorial in erwägung genommen, beschlossen, gemeldete unterrichte als die letzte handlung in ihrer letzten übung nicht zu ändern.

Auf Vorschlag, Einmüthiglich Beschlossen, Daß die meinung dieser zusammenkunft ist, daß gemeldete unterrichte einen gefährlichen zweck haben diese Provinz von denjenigen glückseligkeiten einzigkeit mit den andern Colonien, welche wir beydes für unsern ruhm und schutz halten abzureissen.

Auf Vorschlag, Einmüthiglich Beschlossen, Daß das gegenwärtige Haus der Assemblie nicht zu dem ende gemacht worden ist eine neue regierung zu bilden.

Auf Vorschlag, Beschlossen, (mit einer einzigen mißhältigen stimme) Daß, da das jetzige Haus der Assemblie die gewalt des volks zu dem ende nicht hat, es damit nicht fortfahren kan ohne sich eigenmächtiger gewalt anzumassen.

Einmüthiglich Beschlossen, Daß sogleich ein Protest eingetragen werde durch das volk dieser Stadt und Freyheiten, gegen die macht des gemeldeten Hauses, belagten Schluß des Congresses zu vollziehen.

Nachdem vorgeschlagen, und darauf die frage aufgeworffen wurde, ob die jetzige regierung hinlänglich für die nothdurfftigsten unserer sachen sey? So wurde solches einmüthiglich vernahmet; und

Einmüthiglich Beschlossen, Daß eine Provintial-Conventions-gewählet werden solle durch das volk zu dem ausdrücklichen endzweck, gemeldeten Schluß des Congresses zu vollziehen.

Weil einige schwierigkeiten entstehen können die art und weise betreffend, Officer für gemeldete Convention zu wählen; wurde berathen

Einmüthiglich Beschlossen, Daß die Committee der Stadt und Freyheiten Philadelphia angewiesen werde vorgemeldeten Schluß des Congresses an die verschiedenen Committen durch die Provinz zu senden, und eine anzahl von der Committee von jeder grafschaft zusammen zu berufen eine Proklamation herauszugeben, um sich anzahl zu bestimmen welche die Convention zu formirung einer neuen regierung ausmachen soll, und die weise wie sie ernennet werden soll.

Als hierauf ein Protest vorgelesen und gelesen wurde, ward derselbe einmüthiglich genehmiget.

[Von dem Protest sind eine sehr grosse menge abdrucke auf einem besondern platz herausgegeben und unter das volk in der stadt und auf dem lande ausgetheilet worden.]

Beschlossen Einmüthiglich, Daß der Vorsitzer angewiesen werde den gemeldeten Protest zu unterschreiben und an das Achtbare Haus der Assembly zu überreichen.

Beschlossen Einmüthiglich, Daß wir die nan angenommenen maasregeln behaupten wollen mit drangwagung von allem, die folgen mögen seyn welcherley sie wollen.

Nachdem die danksagung der Stadt und Freyheiten (durch eine einmüthige stimmung) dem Herrn Obersten Roberdeau abgestattet ward, für die unpartheyische und treue verrichtung seines hochbetrauten amts als Vorsitzer, beliebete es ihm zu erwidern—Daß er die ihm angethane ehre erkane, und sie höher schätze als wenn ein Fürst sie ihm erweisen hätte.

Die danksagungen der Stadt und Freyheiten wurden gleichfalls durch eine einmüthige stimmung ihrer Aufsichts- und Wahrnehmungs Committee angestattet, für ihren eifer, treue und standhafte aufmerksamkeit auf die pflichten ihrer mitbürgerlichen beladungen.—Und der Herr Oberste Thomas Mac Kean, als Vorsitzer jetziger Committee, genehmigte und erkannte solche höflichkeit.

Die zusammenkunft wurde mit der ausserstes wohlanständigkeit und eintracht verwaltet.

Daniel Roberdeau, Vorsitzer.

Der Protest wurde, dem Schluß gemäß, denselbigen tag dem Sprecher des Achtbaren Hauses der Assembly überreichet.

[Hierauf sind in der letztvergangenen Woche zwey Schriften gegen den Protest in öffentlichem druck erschienen. Eine betitelt, Die Addresse der Jetzigen Committee vor die Grafschaft Philadelphia, datirt den 18ten May 1776. Die andere, die Addresse und Gegenvorstellung der Unterschriebenen, Einwohner der Stadt und Freyheiten von Philadelphia, datirt den 21sten Dito. Diese zwey lange Stücke sind zweifels ohn unsern lesern schon auf besondern Blättern zu Gesichte gekommen, und daher eben so unnöthig hier einzurücken als der Alarm und Protest].

Durch einen expressen, welcher am letzten Sonntag von Boston über Newport hier angekommen, sind wir folgende wichtige nachricht, nämlich: Daß der Brittische bewaffnete schooner Franklin, unter dem befehl des Capitains Rutgers, am 17ten dieses ein schiff von England, von etwan 300 tonnen und mit sechs lasten-canonen bey sich habend, und in Boston aufgebracht hat. Es war den 4ten April von England abgesegelt in gesellschaft von neun transportschiffen, unter bedeckung eines kriegsfregatte, alle nach Boston bestimmet, weil sie nicht das geringste von den Generals Howe unternommen flucht von Boston wußten. Dieselben hatte an bord, 1500 tartsen, mit schuppuren, die käser hatten supferne reife, 1000 caraviner mit bajonetten, 20 canonen, 1000 schlangen, 300,000 stein und zwanzig pfund pulver, 5 lafetten, eine tar zaphumine und 4 für feldstücke canonen, 8 bozu gehörige bettleisen, 84 handbeile, 5000 handbeile von einer hatchel, und 5000 von einem halben buschel, 100 kurmedecken von geerdten bäumen, 144 breite äxte, 50 handbohrer, 300 dito zum holzfäller, 500 handbeile, 268 schuhfäsen, 150 trageboaren, 1000 gemeine spaden, 250 gutschanzen graben, 750 infanterie bettlegene schuhsen, 250 zelt eisen, eine menge artzeney und instrument heilmittel, artillerie und schreiner werkzeug von allen gattungen. Das putver, gemeldete war schon wohlerhalten gelandet ehe die expresse Boston verlies.

Sie in obenangemeldetem transportschiffe gehabende Zeitung von Cork in Irland, enthält unter der aufschrift, London, vom 16ten März, folgende nachricht: „Von Lissabon wird der Frantzosische für gewiß berichtet, daß der König von Portugal ermordet worden, und daß den abgang der nachricht die hauptstadt und ganze nation in der dusserste verwirrung und verwirrung gesetzet.

Letzten Samstag landete in dieser stadt Philadelphia eine anzahl Tories von Nord Carolina an, welche nach der schlacht bey Moores Krieg-Brücke gefangen, und nach ihrer verbannung vor der Sicherheits Committee zu gefänglicher verhaft gebracht wurden. Ihre namen sind folgender: General Brigadier Donald Mac Donald; Allen Mac Donald, von Kinashrough; Major Alexander Mac Donald, von Coultrarts; Capitains Alexander Mac Donald (sohn von Kinashrough) James Mac Donald, John Mac Donald, Angus Mac Donald, Alexander Mac Kay, Alexander Mac Cleod, Alexander Morrison, Alexander Mac Cleod, Murdock Mac Askell, Neil Mac Lellan, John Mac Cleod, Thomas Watt, und John Mac Kenzie. Leutenant John Murchison, Kennith Mac Donald, Adjutant; Murdock Mac Cleod, ein Wundarzt; John Smith General-Adjutant; Donald Mac Cleod, Quartier-meister, John Bethune, ein Capelan; Forguard Campbell; Doctor Thomas Rutherford, und Michael Hall.

Boston.

Im Hauß der Assembly, den 10 May.

Beschlossen, als die meinung dieses Hauses,

Daß die einwohner einer jeden stadt in dieser Colonie, in einer zu dem ende aufgeforderten volksversammlung, mit der person oder den personen, welche werden erwählet werden, sie in dem nächsten Grossen und Allgemeinen Landrath (oder General Court) vorzustellen, zu überlegen, — Ob die gemeldeten einwohner, weitern der Achtbare Congreß, zur sicherheit der Colonien, sie vom Grossbritannien unabhängig erklären solle. Ich versichert versprechen wollen sie mit ihrem leben und vermögen in solchen maasregeln zu unterstützen. Samuel Freeman, Sprecher

Watertown, (den Boston) den 13 May.

Die General Assembly hat verordnet, daß fünf von den bewaffneten fahrzeugen, welche jetzt durch diese Colonie zur vertheidigung von America ausgerüstet werden, folgende namen haben sollen, näml. die brigantine zu Kingston soll die Independent heissen; eine brigantine die zu Falmouth gebauet wird, das Emporium; eine schuite, die schlupe die zu Salisbury gebauet wird, der Würtembergische Thronerbe; (von welchem zu Swansea gebauet werden, die Republic und so die Freyheit.

Hartford, den 20 May.

Captain Hanley von Stratford, welcher den

FAC-SIMILE OF JOHN HENRY MILLER'S STAATSBOTE, PUBLISED IN PHILADELPHIA FROM 1762 TO 1776.

The Evolution of an American Patriot

Being an Intimate Study of
the Patriotic Activities of

John Henry Miller

GERMAN PRINTER, PUBLISHER AND EDITOR
OF THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION

PART XXXII. OF A NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY
PREPARED AT THE REQUEST OF
THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

BY

CHARLES FREDERICK DAPP

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1924

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JOHN HENRY MILLER.

THE EVOLUTION OF AN AMERICAN PATRIOT.

ALMOST a century and a half after the Declaration of Independence, it is fascinating to trace step by step by means of the newspapers of the Continental Period the causes that led up to the American Revolution. But the causes can not be adequately appreciated without a study of the human element back of the causes. A movement to be successful must have leadership, and those gifted in this direction must make their influence felt among their constituencies.

Now a grateful American posterity has recognized the patriotic leadership of men like Washington and Franklin, who stand out as stars of the first magnitude on the colonial heavens. The patriotic leadership, however, of lesser lights has not yet been sufficiently extolled, and it is in the spirit of gratitude to one of these lesser lights who played an important rôle among the people of German birth that we attempt to chronicle his services to the cause of American liberty. We refer to John Henry Miller, German printer, editor, publisher, and author.

It is not our purpose in these pages to give an extended

biography of Miller. This can be found elsewhere (*German-American Annals,* 1916, pages 118–136). It is rather our intention to study Miller right in his workshop, for the most part in the city of Philadelphia, and to emphasize the medium of his patriotic leadership. This was not as a drillmaster like that of Von Steuben, nor on the pulpit like that of Muhlenberg, nor as a surgeon like that of Stein, nor even as an army baker like that of Ludwig. Miller's field was journalism. His strength lay in his pen, and through the printed page in time of peace as in the stress of war, Miller proclaimed America first, last, and all the time.

When after many years of travel Miller at last settled in the City of Brotherly Love in 1762 he opened up a printing house on Second Street or what may be termed the " newspaper row " of Colonial Philadelphia. In this office on a press and type imported from Germany, for a period of nearly twenty years, Miller printed *books* almost without number and on subjects remarkably various, *almanacs, catalogs,* and last but not least, a *weekly newspaper, The Staatsbote.* This is Miller's monument. It not only tells us that such a man as Miller once lived. It is more suggestive than this. It tells who Miller was, what he stood for, and what he was willing to be sacrificed for—American liberty. In fact, *The Staatsbote* is a kind of unintentional autobiography. A study of its pages makes this claim apparent. For twenty years *The Staatsbote* was published almost uninterruptedly, in which time the real Miller—the whole man—had a chance to appear. Through *The Staatsbote* we see its editor in his humble beginnings but with his high ideals of fair-play; with a keen sense of justice and with an unswerving determination

to serve the cause of truth. Then later on we see him, naturally peaceful, inflamed with righteous indignation because of the oppression of the Colonies on the part of England. Yea, we see him like the American Congress temporarily exiled from his place of business in Philadelphia and then financially ruined because of his adherence to American principles. And finally we follow him to his last abode at Bethlehem, where amid the religious environment of the Moravian Brethren this humble American patriot of foreign ancestry spent the declining years of a busy and fruitful career.

The Staatsbote was the sixth German journal published in America,[1] and it became the most influential German newspaper in the Colonies. It began its illustrious career, January 18, 1762, with the full title of: "Der Wöchentliche /Philadelphische Staatsbote/ Mit den neusten Fremden und Einheimisch Politischen Nachrichten; /Samt den/ von Zeit zu Zeit in der Kirche und Gelehrten Welt sich ereignenden Merkwürdigkeiten. /Diese Zeitung wird alle Montage ausgegeben, für Sechs Schillinge des Jahrs, bey Henrich Miller, Buchdrucker, /zwischen der Wein und Reesstrasse, in der Zweytenstrasse."

The place of publication as indicated in the above title was further described in a small advertisement in the first issue, namely, the second house from the S. E. corner of Race Street. Miller's printing office was removed in December, 1762, to a house on Second Street, between Race and Vine Streets, till then occupied by the printer Nicholas Hasselbach, who moved his printing establishment to Chestnut Hill.[2] Another description of Miller's office

[1] Faust, II, p. 368.

[2] Seidensticker, "The First Century of German Printing," p. 60.

is contained in Staatsbote, No. 425. "Gedruckt bey Henrich Miller, in Nordlicher Eckhause von Coats' Alley in der Zweyten Strasse, gerade gegenüber dem Gasthofe zum Hirsch." The original size of the newspaper was enlarged to a four page fol. 13 x 8 with the 51st issue. In issue No. 39, Miller announces this change. He says:

> Weil viel Leute ihre Zeitungen das ganze Jahr durch aufbewahren, und jeden Jahrgang zusammen heften lassen, so mag wegen der Gleichheit des Formats der Staatsbote bis zu Ende des Jahrs seine schlechte Gestalt behalten; mit dem 51ten Stück aber soll er (g.G.) was anders vorstellen.

The cut of a Post-boy, holding in his hand a script on which is Novae, in the center of the title was added in No. 157, January 14, 1764, but in No. 226, February 23, 1767, a Post-horn was substituted for the script.

The issue of October 31, 1765, No. 199, is called "Ein Abschieds Geschenk." Miller says that he finds himself under the necessity of discontinuing his paper for awhile, but thinks it his duty to thank the public in general and the merchants in particular for the generous encouragement they have given it; and at the same time requests the favor of their custom hereafter in any stamp-free printing work or translating.

The suspension was of short duration. The publication of *The Staatsbote* was resumed on November 18, 1765, and on December 2, 1765, the imprint, slightly changed, was removed to the bottom of the fourth page.

The next change in the title was made January, 1768, No. 311, to "Der Wochentliche Pennsylvanische Staatsbote, etc." The day of issue was also changed from Mondays to Tuesdays. A very good reason occasioned this

change. The editor wanted to give his readers the latest. Miller speaks of the impending change in a previous issue, *Staatsbote* No. 310. "Weil die Samstagische Newyorker Post manchmal erst am Montage ankommt, und dasjenige Merkwürdige so sie alsdann mitbringt, desselbigen Tags nicht wohl in diese Zeitung eingerücket werden kan; so hat man für dienlicher erachtet, künftig selbige am Dienstage heraus zu geben."

With issue No. 696, another change was made to "Henrich Millers Pa. Staatsbote, etc." The cut of the Post-boy was removed and the size of the paper reduced, but it was issued semi-weekly on Tuesdays and Fridays.

July 9, 1776, No. 813, a double sheet was issued, containing the full text of the Declaration of Independence in German, displayed in all the typographical wealth of the office.

The Staatsbote was again issued weekly, on Tuesdays, July 30, 1776, No. 819; after December 19, 1776, No. 838, on Thursdays, and from January 8, 1777, to May 26, 1779, on Wednesdays.

The last issue of the *Staatsbote* prior to the occupation of the city by the British was September 17, 1777, No. 877. The first issue after the evacuation was August 5, 1778. In May of 1779, Miller disposed of his paper to Messrs. Steiner and Cist, and on May 26, 1779, he published his affectionate farewell address to his readers, *Staatsbote,* No. 920.

As already intimated, Miller began the publication of the *Staatsbote* with high journalistic ideals. This fact is clearly indicated in the first issue of the paper in which he sets forth his principles. This address is worthy of being quoted in full:

Günstiger Leser.

Weil gewöhnlich bey Ausgebung neuer Schriften die Verfasser oder Herausgeber derselbigen in einer Vorrede oder Einleitung unter andern die Beweggründe zu ihrer Arbeit anführen, und des Zwecks, den sie dabey haben, erwehnen; so wird auch wohl jetzt dergleichen von mir erwartet werden.

Ich will denn mit Wenigem die Beweggründe zu meinem Unternehmen melden; nämlich, das vielfältige Verlangen nach einer Wohleingerichteten Deutschen Wöchentlichen Zeitung; die öftere Anmuthungen vieler Gönner seith geraumer Zeit zu Herausgebung eines solchen Wochenblats; und weil ich, als ein erfarner Buchdrucker, mich bestrebe, mit dem Beruff in welchem mich die göttliche Vorsehung von Jugend an gesetzt, und den ich seith der Zeit unaufhörlich getrieben, *Gott* und dem Nächsten (insonderheit den Deutschen in diesem von ihrem Vaterlande so weit entfernten Welttheile) treulich und nach bestem Vermögen, ohne die Geldschneiderey zu meinem eigentlichen Augenmerk zu machen, zu dienen.

Da nun das Sprüchwort heisst: "Ein Dienst ist des andern werth;" so bitte mir von meinen Landsleuten zur vollkommensten Erwiederung meiner geringen Dienste eine geneigte Aufnahme meiner künftigen wohlgemeinten Arbeit aus.

Weil ich aber des Dienstes Gottes und des Nächsten Erwehnung gethan; so liegt mir auch noch ob, vor dem Beschluss zu berühren, dass ein Christ (der alles zu Gottes Ehren thun soll) durch eine Zeitung nicht nur den allgemeinen Nutzen, sondern auch selbst die Ehre Gottes befördern kan.

Zu diesem gehört auf Seiten des Herausgebers, dass er sich äusserstens hüte, Unwahrheiten, oder ärgerliches und zu Zerrüttungen, Uneinigkeiten, etc. Gelegenheit gebendes Geschmier seiner Zeitung einzuverleiben; hingegen in Mitteilungen seiner Berichte, so viel möglich, sich der Wahrheit befleissige, und gelegentlich die Christlichen sowol als Bürgerlichen Tugenden suche anzupreisen. Als Leser dieser zu gewisser Zeit ordentlich herauskommender Bläter, können selbige bey uns den Zweck der Ehre Gottes er-

reichen, wenn wir aufmerksam sind auf die Zeichen der Zeiten, die uns dadurch kund gethan werden: Und, eines theils die göttlichen Strafen und Gerichte uns zur Warnung dienen, und zur Busse leiten lassen; andern theils aber durch die Betrachtung der Güte Gottes gegen die Seinen, und des Gnadengangs, den er zu Ausbreitung seines Reichs gehet, zum Glauben und Vertrauen auf Gott, und Gehorsam gegen Ihn erwecket, und einfolglich zu Ausbreitung seiner Ehre und Lobes kräftigst ermuntert werden.

Was den Nutzen des Gemeinen Wesens betrifft: so könte, wenn es nicht über die Grenzen, die ich mir zu diesem Vorbericht gesetzt, hinaus liesse, weitläuffig erwiesen werden, welchergestalt eine öffentliche Zeitung denselbigen bestermassen befördern kan: weil ich aber schliessen muss; so will ich nur noch mit einem Worte sagen, dass wofern eine solche Schrift in einer ordentlichen und reinen Schreibart verfasset, wohl eingerichtet, und unparthyisch ist, so wird ein jeder nicht nur den allgemeinen Nutzen derselbigen leicht erkennen, sondern auch aus der Erfahrung davon überzeugt werden.

Die eben erwehnte Haupteigenschaften in dem Staatsboten niemals aus der Archt zu lassen, wird die beständige Bemühung seyn.

Günstiger Leser, Deines bereitwilligst-und ergebensten Diener,

Des Herausgebers.

Miller knew that no matter how high his ideals, the success of his newspaper venture depended also upon another important factor, namely, a wide circle of readers. These he obtained through a system of voluntary agents extending from Nova Scotia to Georgia and from the coast to the frontier. The first issue of the *Staatsbote* contains a list of such agents delegated to receive subscriptions. The list was published from time to time, and it is noteworthy that with few exceptions the names of the original agents appear from year to year.

The original agents' list is worthy of historical record, and is herewith given in full.

Das Einschreiben zu dieser Zeitung geschiehet: In Philadelphia, bey Herrn Georg Honig, Gastgeb. im König von Preussen, in der Marktstrass; und bey dem Verleger Henrich Miller, Buchdrucker, nächst der Südöstlichen Ecke von der Reessrtass, in der Zweytenstrasse.

In Germanton, bey den Herren Jacob Gänsel, ohnweit der Lutherischen Kirche; Christian Laaschet; und Augustin Neisser, Uhrmacher.

In Philadelphia Caunty. New Hannover, Michael Walther. New Providenz, Johann Schrack. Madetschi, Jacob Wentz. Chestnut Hill, Sebastian Miller. Guschehoppen, Daniel Heister, und Jacob Iset. Schippach, Isaac Reall. Bernhill, Christopher Robins.

Berks Caunty. Tulpehackin, Peter Spyker, Esq., und Ehrw. Hr. Kurz. Reading, Martin Kast. Oley, Conrad Fischer, und Anthon Jäger.

Northampton Caunty. Easton, ———— Baringer.

Lancaster Stadt und Caunty. Stadt. Ludewig Laumann. Cocalico, Michael Wittmann. Carl Taunschip, Jacob Joner. Labanon, Nicholaus Heinecke. Elizabeth Eisenschmelze, Henrich Stiegel.

Yorktaun und Caunty. Taun. Martin Danner und Jacob Billmeyer. Mannheim Taunschip, David Neumann.

Chester Caunty. Vincent Taunschip, Carl Gass.

Newcastle Caunty. Wilmington, James Adams.

Virginien. Winchester, Henrich Ringer. Picket Mountain, Augusta Caunty, Jacob Nicolas.

Maryland. Friederichstaun, Conrad Grosch und Michael Stumpf. Patapsko, Valentin Lorsch.

New Jersey. Anweil, Henrich Lantes, und Wilhelm Käss. New Germanton, Johann Melech der Jüngere. Cohansi, Doctor Bodo. Piles Grove, Georg Gancher.

New York. Michael Hauswirth. Albania, Paul Hochstrasser, Hosenmacher.

New Schottland. Hallifax, Wilhelm Schwarz."

In addition to the above-mentioned names, No. 11 of the *Staatsbote* mentions two more agents, namely: "Südcarolina, Charlestaun, Philip Meyer, Zuckerbecker, Georgien, Ebenezer, der Ehrw. Herr Bolzius." In issue No. 69, Miller printed a new agents' list, which he reprints practically without change in issues No. 103, 158 and 174. As in the case of the first list we reproduce the list as spoken of in issue No. 69 of the Staatsbote.

Man lässt sich zu dieser Zeitung einschreiben.

In Philadelphia, bey dem Verleger; und den Herren Georg Honig und Jacob Bertsch, Gastgeber zum König von Preussen und Weissen Lamm, in der Marktstrasse.

In Germanton, bei Augustin Neisser, Uhrenmacher; Christian Laachet; Friederich Duy; und Georg Kast, Gastgeb. zum Weissen Lamm, bey der Lutherischen Kirche.

In Philadelphia Caunty. New Hanover, Michael Walther. Douglas Taunschip, Ludewig Haring. New Providenz, Johan Schrack. Madetschi, Jacob Wentz. Chestnut Hill, Henrich Juncken. Guschehoppen, Jacob Iset und Daniel Hüster. Milchhaus, Martin Schaauwecker. Schippach oder Toamencin, Abraham Heiderich. Hatfield Taunschip, Henrich Lohra. Bernhill, Christopher Robins.

Berks Caunty. Tulpehackin, Ehr. Hr. Kurz. Reading, Martin Kast. Heidelberg, Friederich Weisser. Maxetany, Daniel Levan, Sebastian Levan, und Johannes Herrgeröder.

Northampton Caunty. Easton, John Moor, Esq., und David Bäringer. Makuntschi, Michael Henninger und Leonh. Henchel. Sackonum, Christ. Wagner. Arndts Mühle, Jacob Arndt, Esq. Williamstaun, Georg Rab. An der Landstrass überm Blauen Berg, Abrah. Müller. Bethlehem, Jasper Pain, Gastwirth zur Sonne.

In der neuen Niederlage (oder Store) zu Nazareth, William Edmonds.

Lancaster Stadt und Caunty. Stadt, Ludewig Laumann. Lebanon, Nicolaus Heinecke. Elisabeth Eisenschmelze, Henrich Stiegel. Um Lancaster, und auf der Landstrasse, Adam Müller.

Yorktaun, Jacob Billmeyer.

New Jersey. An der Cohansier Strasse, Jacob Friess. Piles Grove, Georg Gancher. Anweil, Henrich Landes, und Wilhelm Käss. New Germanton, Johann Melech der Jüngere. West-Jersey, Paulinskiln, Caspar Schäfer. In einer andern Gegend, Gottfried Melech.

New York, Jacob Huth, auf dem breiten Wege beym Springgarten. Albania, Paul Hochstrasser, Hosenmacher. Conyschocheny, an der Mohack Rivier, Henrich Frey, Esqr. Stein-Arabia, an der Mohack Rivier, Isaac Paris.

Maryland. Friederichstaun, Conrad Grosch.

Süd-Carolina. Charlestaun, Philip Meyer, Zuckerbecker.

Georgien. Ebenezer, Ehrw. Hr. Bolzius.

Neu-Schottland. Halifax, Joh. Pfandörfer.

For those early Colonial days, a reading constituency extending to every section of the Colonies was no mean thing. It was first of all a compliment to Miller, and secondly it speaks volumes for the literacy of the Germans who had come to settle here. It is said that at one time Saur's German newspaper numbered 6,000 subscribers and Hildeburn ventures the assertion that Miller's subscribers numbered even more. The writer has endeavored to obtain a subscription list among Miller's extant papers and writings, but without avail. The probable number of readers of the Staatsbote must remain conjecture.

But what the Staatsbote aimed at, namely, the infusion of a patriotic spirit can not be a matter of conjecture. That is a matter of historical record. Almost without exception the Germans of the Colonial period were patriots.

This is in strong contrast with the record of the English speaking people at the time of the Revolution. At the beginning of hostilities with Great Britain, the inhabitants of the states of New York and Pennsylvania were equally divided between the Tories and the Democratic parties. It is John Adams, who says: "New York and Pennsylvania were so nearly divided, if their propensity was not against us, that if New England on one side and Virginia on the other had not kept them in awe, they would have joined the British." Works of John Adams, Vol. X, p. 63. Replying to this letter, Thomas McKean, Chief Justice of Pennsylvania, has this to say: "You say that about one third of the people of the colonies were against the Revolution. It required much reflection, before I could fix my opinion on this subject; but on mature deliberation I conclude that you are right, and that more than one third of influential characters were against it." With these testimonies, and granting that the number of Tories decreased as the chances of success for the Revolution increased, who were the real revolutionists? Who were the patriots here in Pennsylvania and in New York? We are indebted to Professor Faust for his admirable pen picture of a class of people who did not hide their colors, but who proved at every turn where they stood in the War of Independence. He says:

> The social condition of the Germans in the colonies forced them as a necessary consequence into the Democratic party. They were not members of families that had been in favor at court for generations; they were not owners of estates that were the gifts of the crown; they felt no national sentiments binding them to a British prince. They were men who had hewn their own farms out of the wild forest, had maintained their independence against its savage inhabitants, and now claimed as their own the soil on which

their battles had been won. Frontiersmen—and most of the Germans were or had been such—gained from their mode of life a degree of independence which often set them in opposition to the policies of the seaboard. The conservative easterly settlements were better satisfied with the status quo, the frontiersmen looked beyond, aspired to new conditions, and were ready to make a bold venture. The frontier turned the balance toward independence.

We have paused long enough to emphasize a tardy tribute to real patriots. And lest this be construed as a personal opinion, I quote from the *Virginia Magazine.* "No other period of Virginia history gives better evidence of the devotion and loyalty of the German Virginians to American interests than the struggle for Independence, and yet, on account of circumstances, they have received comparatively little recognition." [1]

This is to be regretted all the more because "During the whole period of the Revolution only one case is known in which a Virginia German was disloyal to the American cause—the Tories were mainly of English descent." [2]

I also make mention of the above facts because I believe that the *Staatsbote* was no small factor in moulding and shaping the minds of the Colonial Germans for the American cause. Again to quote a Virginia authority, "The *Staatsbote* was like a firebrand thrown among the German settlers—and they enthusiastically embraced the American cause. Their self-sacrifice and fidelity is worthy of laudation." [3] What is here said of the influence of the *Staatsbote* as far as Virginia is concerned, may be predicated of it wherever it was read; and wherever the ideals of Miller had a chance to grow, they invariably produced the glorious fruit of American Liberty.

[1] *Virginia Magazine,* Vol. X, p. 44.
[2] *Virginia Magazine,* Vol. X, p. 113.
[3] "History of the German Element in Virginia," Vol. I, p. 127.

And Miller not only reached the hearts of his readers and touched their liberty-loving natures through personal appeals. From time to time he told them what their kinsmen on the other side of the Atlantic thought of their plans toward independence, and such news from the land of their birth had but one purpose, namely, to inspire them in their designs to create a new nation here in the land of their adoption dedicated to the principles of liberty and righteousness.

In some quarters it has become quite fashionable to laud the activities of LaFayette and the sympathies of the French people in the cause of the American Revolution and totally disregard the sympathies of some other foreign people in this same cause. While we do not wish to detract one iota from LaFayette and his people in their attitude toward the Colonists, we wish at the same time to be fair with others, and to point out the wholehearted devotion of men like Von Steuben and DeKalb and also the outspoken sympathies of the German people in the matter of the Revolution. And this is not conjecture. It is founded on fact, as is indicated in a letter from one of the German correspondents of the *Staatsbote*. And let this not be forgotten. This was the Germany of Kant, of Lessing, of Herder, of Goethe and Schiller. Miller printed this letter under date of August 10, 1775:

Gans Deutschland stehet in bewunderung und erstaunen über den vesten entschlossenen und heldenmutigen geist der tapfern Americaner, und es gefällt uns überaus wohl ihr unerschrockener widerstand gegen die verschiedenen anfälle der furchtbaren macht von England, welche gebraucht wird, sie ihrer echten rechte und natürlichen freyheit zu berauben und nacher sie auf ewig in ketten der knechtschaft und unterwürfigkeit zu fesseln; und dis wird die

elende folge seyn wenn sie euch solten durch ihre flotten und kriegsheere unterjochem.

Grosse anzahlen von unsern Deutschen leben in America und erfahren in hohem grad in selbigem glücklichen lande die süssigkeiten von freyheit welche sie hier unter ihren eigenmächtigen elenden beherschern nicht genossen; diese leute werden jede nerve anstrengen in unterstützung der rechtmässigen sache von der ihnen so süssen freyheit. Ihre hiesigen zahlreichen freunde und verwandten flehen beständig und inbrünstig zu dem grossen Göttlichen Regierer aller begebenheiten ins mittel zu treten und euch beyzustehen mit seinem Allmächtigen Arm, und alle gottlose und euch unters joch zu bringende versuche eurer feinde zu vernichten, allein sie hoffen gleichwol ihr werdet nicht die arme in einander schlagen und euch gänzlich auf die kraft des gebets eurer freunde verlassen; sondern dass ihr auch vertheidigungs mittel gebrauchen werdet, und sie hoffen und glauben die Vorsehung werde eurer Sache günstig seyn, wovon ihr bereits ein unterpfand habt, damit eure unterdrücker mögen zerstreuet werden. Wir wünschen, dass, da England im begriff ist fremde kriegsvölker zu mieten, in eiteler hoffnung euch zu unterwerfung zu zwingen (weil dessen eigene mannschaft entnervet und geistlos wird so bald sie Americanischen boden betreten) es Deutsche bekommen könte auf diesen dienst geschickt werden, denn in dem fall sehen wir schon voraus, dass solches zu eurem vortheil ausfallen würde, indem ihr ein weit ausgedehntes land habt für Deutsche zu bauen, und kein volk liebt einträgliche arbeit besser oder ist geschickter zu diesem endzweck, welches America schon lange erfahren hat, und wir wissen das sie bald ihr schiessgewehr wegwerfen und sich zum landbau begeben werden.

Wir haben erhabene gedanken von der weisheit eures Americanischen Congresses, und von allen dessen guten einrichtungen durch dieses grosse und sich weit erstreckende Veste Land; wir können auch nicht genug bewundern die wohlanständige treuergebene jedoch männliche und beherzte sprache die sie in allen ihren bittschriften an den thron enthalten ist, und gegentheils mit nicht

genugsamer abscheu betrachten wie unanständig und hönisch sie sind behandelt und aufgenommen worden von jenen stolzen männern, welche alle bewegungen der nation nach ihrem sinne leiten.[1]

Miller and the Stamp-Act.

The first reference in the Staatsbote to the Stamp Act occurred in the issue of Thursday, April 2, 1765, in these words:

Es wird jetzt gesagt, dass der Plan der Einführung der Stämpeltax in den Grossbritannischen Colonien, wegen der Art und Weise des Einnehmens derselben allda, untunlich befunden, und auf die Seite gelegt worden; anstatt dessen aber ist, wie man vernimmt im Vorschlag, einen grösseren Zoll auf die Buch-und Papierhandlers Waren, welche von England in America eingebracht werden, zu legen.[2]

In the next issue, Miller gives the plan in detail and in large type he calls attention to the following:

Und alles was vom Obigen, in einer andern als der Englischen Sprache beschrieben oder gedruckt wird, soll doppelt die Tax bezahlen die hier gemeldet ist.[3]

The general sentiment of the colonists was against the Stamp Act even before it was passed. Such colonies like Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Virginia, cognizant of their charter rights, were in favor of protesting against the Stamp Act "und diesem schreckenvollen Gesetz sich auf alle erlaubte Art widersetzen." The *Staatsbote* at this time quotes a letter from Virginia in which, while the tone of the writer is respectful toward England, scorn is heaped upon the weak-kneed members of the Assembly and

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 761.
[2] *Staatsbote*, No. 169.
[3] *Staatsbote*, No. 170.

praise for the faithful who drew up the resolutions of protest against the Stamp Act there presented. In addition to the letter full of patriotic sentiments, Miller gives a few of his own.

Wie aus obigem Schreiben erhellet, so haben die Assemblymänner in Virginien sich nicht sehr gedränget bei der überlegung der Stämpel-Acte und diesen patriotischen Schlüssen zugegen zu sein, und es ist zu vermuten, es werden auch wohl bei der bevorstehenden Wahl daselbst kein gross Gereisse darum sein ein Assemblymann zu werden: so werden auch die Wählende keine dazu bestimmen bei denen es heisst, *Weit vom Gefecht gibt alte Kriegsleute.* Denn jetzt ist die Zeit, da eine einmütig-und demütige Stimme: Wir wollen beim Alten bleiben, aus America in die Ohren Seiner Majestät, unsers allgemeinen Vaters, erschallen sollte, in Zuversicht, er werde seinem Volk dasjenige in Gnaden gewähren, dessen *Grosse* Untertanen die *kleinen* nicht würdigen wollten.

In a succeeding issue, Miller for the first time takes up the slogan, "the sons of liberty" and translates it into "Die Söhne der Freiheit." From this issue on, No. 189, Miller used the above expression with which to designate a patriot. In the same issue there is an article on the difficulty of a Stamp Act agent securing a house. At the bottom of this article Miller adds contemptuously: "Wäre es nicht gut wenn alle Stämpelherren ihre Häuser verassecurieren liessen?" Following an account of where a stamp agent was hung in effigy, Miller translates into German the fateful epithets found on the effigy and one of them he reproduces in German poetry. Not good poetry to be sure, but good tinder for the spark of patriotism. This inscription is as follows:

Was its wohl schöners anzuschau'n
Als wenn ein Stämpler hängt am Baum.[1]

[1] *Staatsbote,* No. 190.

Up to this time, Miller was content to await developments, giving now and then an editorial comment. He also had time to study the problem at hand and the far-reaching consequence thereof, and from now on he gives his readers his unreserved opinion on the whole Stamp Act question. He opens fire by paying his compliments to certain New England men of prominence who were looking for private gain and not to the common weal. His opinion is given in the issues of the *Staatsbote*, under date of September 9, 1765:

Die Stämpel-Act ist eine Acte deren Übel, wenn sie vollzogen wird, vermutlich empfindlicher werden gefühlt werden als man sich selbige jetzt davon sagen kann, ist, dass sie muss betrachtet werden als ein eindringender Keil, oder eine Einleitung zu künftiger Unterdrückungen und Auflagen.—Man meint durchgängig, (und zwar nicht sonder gute Ursach) dies Trojanische Pferd, diese mit unermesslichen Unglücken schwanger gehende Maschine, sei in einer von den vornehmsten nördlichen Guvernementern auf den Ambos gebracht und geschmiedet worden. Wenn nun einige von den Söhnen Neuenglands, die von verdienstvollen Ahnen abstammen, dieselbige haben bilden helfen, in Absicht auf einträgliche Posten und Ämter, wie können sie doch ihre Häupter empor heben, mitten unter den Schmachreden und Verwünschungen eines mit Recht erbitterten Volks? Können sie wohl denken, dass sie den verdienten Nachreden der Menschen entgehen, oder nicht in allen Zeitungen zum Gelächter gemacht und geschmähet, und von jedem Schriftsteller durch die Heckel werden gezogen werden. Um uns aber nicht länger bei dieser unangenehmen Materie aufzuhalten, so wollen wir dergleichen Herren nur eine ernstliche Überlesung der sich ganz ungemein hieher schickenden Zeilen in Addison's Cato:—

> Ist nicht, O Porcius! ein auserkorner Fluch,
> Verborgener Donnerkeil ins Himmelspeinen Schätzen,
> Von ungemeinem Zorn entglüht, den Mann zu treffen,
> Der sich hat gross gemacht durch seines Landes Ruin?[1]

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 191.

Writing concerning the new privy counsellors, Miller has this editorial:

Gott gebe diesen neuen hohen Beamten den Geist der wahren Weisheit, dass durch ihre Ratschläge die Ruhe und Wohlfahrt aller zu der Grossbritannischen Krone gehörigen Länder in der ganzen Welt möge befördert und erhalten werden." [1]

In the same issue are these words: "Es sind, wie es scheint, noch viel Armtverwechselungen auf dem Tapet; und die grossen Herren besuchen einander fleissig."

In the issue of September 22, 1765, there are these words: "Man hört, viele von den vornehmsten Leuten in England sind der Meinung die Stämpel-Acte werde aufgeschoben werden; und dass unter der Regierung des jetzigen Staatsamtes den Colonien viele Lasten die ihnen aufgelegt worden, würden abgenommen werden." [2] To this as though doubtful of the outcome Miller simply says, "Gott gebs." Evidently Miller knew that the Stamp paper was already on the way when the above news was printed so he prepared himself for the outburst of feeling which he knew was bound to occur upon the receipt of the Stamp paper. He was right in his supposition, for on October 7, 1765, he printed in big type the following article: "Die Capitäns Bryan und Holland sind von London hier angelangt; der letztere hat das *Gestämpelte Papier* für diese Provinz mitgebracht, und liegt unter der Bedeckung des Kriegsschiffes Sardine, Capitän Hawker, auf dem Delaware-strom." In smaller type, Miller adds:

Es ist unmöglich die Bestürzung zu begreifen so diese Neuigkeit durch diese Stadt ausgebreitet hat.—Grimm, ein tiefes Schmerzempfinden, und Grämen erschienen in jedem Angesicht, und die

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 193.
[2] *Staatsbote*, No. 194.

klägliche Sprache eines jeden und aller unserer Einwohner scheint zu sein, Gute Nacht, gute Nacht, o Freiheit!—America, o du durch ein allzu frühes Urteil zur Sklaverei verdammetes America!—ist es denn eine Treue,—dem kindlicher Gehorsam,—deine erschöpften Schätze,—und die Blutsströme die deine Söhne vergossen haben zu Ausbreitung des Ruhmes der Brittischen Waffen, sind diese es, sage ich, welche das Land das ja deine Mutter ist gereizet haben so unrechtmässig dich anstatt sanfter Windeln in Jammer einzuwickeln, durch Entreissung der allerliebste Vorrechte deiner Kinder? Oder hat die Untreue es getan?—aber, ach! die Worte fehlen mir,—und die ängstlichen und schmerzlichen Zähren halten meine Feder auf,—O mein Vaterland, mein Vaterland![1]

Miller's patriotic attitude is also apparent in the space which he gives in the Staatsbote to persons who were appointed Stamp agents and who either voluntarily or through pressure of public opinion resigned their appointment. For all these men, Miller is full of praise. Likewise he makes much of those Colonies who voted to send representatives to the Congress which was held in New York.

To show the German public that the properly elected representatives from the Colonies to the Congress at New York were not the only ones who hated the Stamp Tax measure, Miller translated and published letters from individual public spirited citizens. The following is an example and clearly enunciates the principle, no taxation without representation.

Annapolis (in Maryland), den 5. Sept. An die Herren Green und Rind. (Buchdrucker in Annapolis.) Ihr Herren! Ich bin berichtet, dass die Vollziehung des Stämpel-Gesetzes den ersten Tag nächtskünftigen Novembers angehen wird; ich tue daher allen Beamten, sie seien wer sie wollen, die in kraft solcher aller-

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 195.

lassigsten und unlandsverfassungsmässigen Acte mögen bestimmt werden (um ihnen mühe zu sparen), hiemit kund, dass ich keinerlei Tax bezahlen will, als die mir von meinen Repräsentanten aufgelegt wird. Ich bin Ihr Herren, Ihr ergebener Diener, Benjamin Welsch.

At the conclusion of the letter, Miller adds:

Das ist recht kurz gegeben.

In an article concerning the Congress that convened in New York, Miller says:

Nachdem die zu Haltung eines allgemeinen Kongresses bestimmte Committierte von den verschiedenen Kolonien allhier angelangt waren, so versammelten selbige sich am vergangenen Montage, und nahmen ihre Geschäfte vor.—Das allerwichtigste das je in America in Erwägung gekommen ist.

Hereupon follow the names of the delegates to the Congress.[1]

In the issue dated Oct. 28, 1765, Miller tells of the arrival of the Stamp paper.

Capitän Davis, der uns bei seiner letztern hiesigen Ankunft die Zeitung brachte, dass die Stämpel-Acte zum Gesetz gemacht sei, hat jetzt die gestämpfelte Waare selbst, wodurch man uns will zu Sklaven machen, mitgebracht. Diese Waare ist so heimlich eingeschifft worden, dass kein Reisender auf dem Schiffe wusste, dass sie an Bord war, bis ein Offizier eines hiesigen Kriegsschiffes auf Cap. Davis Schiff kam, sie in Verwahrung zu nehmen. Sobald es bekannt wurde, dass die Stampelei wirklich angekommen sei, hiessen alle Fahrzeuge im Hafen ihre Flaggen herunter, zum Zeichen *der Trauer, des Klagens* und *Wehs.* Ach! was haben wir doch getan, eine solche Behandlung von dem Lande das unsere Mutter ist, und von unseren Brüdern, zu verdienen? Sind wirs wohl wert so tief herunter gesetzt verunehret, ja als die abgesagtesten Feinde

[1] *Staatsbote,* No. 196.

von ihnen tractiert zu werden? Welch abenteuerlicher Wanwitz muss in ihren Ratsversammlungen geherrscht haben? *Uns* in die Enge zu treiben, zu Grunde zu richten, und zu Slakven zu machen, da doch unsere Rechten und Befreiungen pünktlich eben dieselbigen als ihre, und beider Vorteile unzertrennlich mit einander verknüpft sind.[1]

In another article in the same issue and with a special statement to his readers, as to the proposed suspension of the Staatsbote, Miller is even more outspoken than in the preceding article.

Werte Leser dieser Zeitung. Da man nach dem Ersten Tage des bevorstehenden Novembers an das unlandsverfassungsmässigste Gesetz so diese Colonie sich je hätten vorstellen können, nämlich die Stämpfel-Acte, wie gesagt wird, gebunden sein soll: solche Last aber dem Herausgeber dieser Zeitung zu schwer sein wird: So hat er es fürs beste mit seiner Zeitung eine Weile einzuhalten, um zu sehen ob Mittel und Wege möchten gefunden werden, denen für das Volk in America geschmiedeten Ketten auszuweichen, und der unerträglichen Sklaverei zu entfliehen, wozu die gerechten Vorstellungen die jetzt gegen besagte Acte gemacht werden, Hoffnung geben.

In line with the irenic close of this article and the hopeful outlook of the situation, Miller asks his readers to settle for their arrearage and announces that he would then be in a better position to continue the paper, "sobald sich eine offene Tür dazu zeigt, welches wie er hoffet, bald sein wird." This issue is interesting because of the devise by means of which he wants to express his contempt of the Stamp Act. In the lower right-hand corner of the first page of the *Staatsbote* there is a skull with cross bones. Reading from the left upward then across and then down

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 198.

are these words: " Dis ist der Platz für/ den Todespein/ erregenden Stämpfel." In small type, concerning the position of the skull and the cross bones, Miller says:

Weil vielleicht manche Leute, so nie eine Zeitung, Calender, etc., mit einem Stämpfel gesehen, sich einbilden möchten, derselbe Stelle, wie auf der ersten Seite dieser Zeitung, einen Todenkopf vor, so dienet zur Nachricht, dass einige Buchdrucker dieses Bild des Königs der Schrecken gewählt haben, um den Platz auf dem Bogen anzuzeigen, wo der Stämpfel hingesetzt wird; eigentlich wird aber derselbe rot gedruckt, und ist eine gekrönte Rose und Distel auf einem Zweige, mit etlichen Zierarten, und der Umschrift wie viel er kostet, z. B. One Penny, Two Pence, u. S. W.[1]

It may not be such a well-known fact that Saur's German newspaper was not in sympathy with the outspoken patriotism of the *Staatsbote.* In fact with Saur's Tory inclination, it would be surprising had the *Staatsbote* not been attacked because of its outspoken methods in defense of the Colonies. Several time Miller and Saur had engaged in what Miller called a " Federkrieg," and at this time it seems as though Saur had again attacked Miller's position on the question of the sentiment against the Stamp Act. Miller answered in no uncertain terms in the issue of Thursday, October 31, 1765, which Miller calls, *" Ein Abschieds-Geschenk."* Before Miller launches upon his subject and as though to give it more force, he printed a well-translated and eloquent extract of a patriotic speech to the freeholders of Connecticut which he took from Mr. Holt's *New York Newspaper,* No. 1190. Hereupon follows his words:

Man hat in einer Deutschen Zeitung von der vorigen Woche eine Anmerkung wahrgenommen, woraus man schliessen kann,

[1] *Staatsbote,* No. 198.

dass der Hr. Verfasser derselben eine grosse Anzahl Bekannte in dieser Provinz haben muss, welche der in ganz America höchst verhassten Stämpfel-Acte das Wort reden; wenn nun dem so ist, so kann vorhergehendes Stück dazu dienen dergleichen Leuten die Köpfe zu recht zu setzen: Ist es aber ein falscher Wahn, dann hat man Ursach sich zu schämen sein Land und Mitbürger untreurer und liebloser Weise in einen bösen Ruf zu bringen.[1]

The Staatsbote now printed articles in which Miller showed how the Stamp Act was considered throughout the Colonies. No. 198 of the *Staatsbote* contains this article:

Wie wir vernehmen, so ist kein einziger von denen zu Stämpfelbeamten bestimmten Personen von New Hampshire an bis nach Georgien, der das hassenswürdige Amt verrichten will, so dass nun die gestämpfelten Sachen eine Waare sind da niemand weiss was man damit anfangen soll, und sie werden weit mehr verabscheut, und es ist gefährlicher sich damit einzulassen als wenn sie von der Pest angesteckt werden.—Es ist viel gefährlicher etwas gestämpfeltes Papier zu kaufen, verkaufen, oder sich damit abzugeben, als aller Gefahr und Strafe entgegen zu gehen, die daraus entstehen könnte, wenn man sie nicht nähme. Amen!

Miller took particular pleasure in writing up the treatment accorded to persons with anti-patriotic feelings. Here is a sample:

Von Maryland vernimmt man, dass einige von den dasigen Leuten, welche weisse Cockarden in ihren Hüten trugen, mit dem Wort Freiheit, einen Leutnant eines Kriegsschiffes dergestalt dadurch geärgert, dass er sie beschimpft und seinen Degen auf sie gezogen hätte, wodurch die Leute so erbittert worden, dass sie den Herrn Leutnant nackt ausgezogen, ihn an einen Pranger gebunden, und ihn sehr säuberlich abgepeitscht hätten.[2]

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 199.
[2] *Staatsbote*, No. 201.

Again to vindicate his patriotic position and to confute the statement in Saur's German newspaper that there were so many Americans who spoke for the Stamp Act, Miller says:

> Man könnte einige Bogen anfüllen mit den von allen Orten in America einlaufenden Nachrichten von allerhand arten des Widerwillens und Widerstands den die Stämpfel-Acte durchgängig findet. . . . Fast alle Colonien geben ihren Assemblymänner Unterrichte wie sie sich in det Stämpfel-Acte zu verhalten haben. Das Henken und Verbrennen der Bildnisse der Stämpfelmänner, des Teufels, etc., währt bald hie bald da noch beständig fort. Es ist kaum jemals in einigem Teil der Welt eine Sache auf die Bahn gebracht worden, die einen solchen allgemeinen und durchgängigen Hass, Verabscheuung, und Widerstand gefunden, als die abscheuliche Stämpfel-Acte. Gott gebe dem grossbritannischen Reichsrat ins Herz selbige zu widerrufen, zu Verhütung der fürchterlichsten Folgen![1]

In the latter part of the article just quoted, we note Miller is quite sure of the disastrous consequences to England if the American Colonists are exercised to the utmost. Miller is, however, not yet prepared to advocate strenuous measures. His tone while bitter still speaks for a peaceful solution of the problem. The next article will prove this fact: Es sind einige Zeit her mancherlei edelmütige beherzte und vaterländische Schlüsse von den verschiedenen Landratsversammlungen dieses erstaunlich grossen Brittannisch-Americanischen Kaisertums zum Vorschein gekommen, wie auch Verhaltungsunterrichte des Volks in fast allen Colonien an ihre Assemblymänner, oder Repräsentanten, wie sie sich bei jetzigen gefährlichen Umständen zu betragen haben; aber nachstehender Unter-

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 201.

richt übertrifft alle andere die man noch bisher gelesen hat. Welch unaussprechlich glückliche Folgen würde es haben, wenn die Repräsentanten dem wohlgemeinten Unterricht ihrer Constituenten folgen wollten. Gott gebs.[1] The matter to which Miller here referred was the petition of the New York Sons of Liberty to their Assembly, to proceed with the regular order of business as usual and to pay no attention whatever to the Stamp Act.

Following a decision on the part of a printer in Charlestown, not to continue the printing of his paper because his subscribers had declared that they would take no paper for the present even though stamped paper could be obtained, Miller claps his hands with glee: "Das sind wackere Leute."[2]

A decided change had now come over Miller. He is no longer irenic in tone, and no longer does he counsel peaceful measures. Perhaps he now saw that the Stamp Act matter was more than a passing political issue and that it was in reality the penetrating wedge for further tyranny. The Sons of Liberty everywhere in the Colonies continued to draw up protests against the Stamp Act, and with these Miller was in full accord. Each protest stirred him, but it was left to Bradford's paper to move Miller to write something on armed resistence to the Mother Country, if necessary. Bradford's paper contained an article signed by Philelentherus in which he appealed to the lawyers and merchants and Sons of Liberty of this Province on patriotic grounds. Evidently Miller had heard somewhere that the friends of English tyranny charged the patriots with cowardice, and in a few words in big type and full of fire Miller says:

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 204.
[2] *Staatsbote*, No. 207.

Wir haben das Herz aufzustehen und die fürchterlichste Maschine der Tyrannei die je zugerichtet ward, zu zerschmettern. Das wäre zu spöttisch, wenn unsere Feinde denken müssten wir hätten den Geist freier Leute nicht.[1]

Miller shows his contempt for those who desire to use the Stamp paper.

In einem Auszug eines Briefes von Georgien wird gemeldet, dass die dasigen eigennützigen Kaufleute die feinen Herren gewesen, welche, samt den Schiffsmeistern, gestämpfelt Papier verlangt; und dass der dasige Herr Guvernör sich der Streifer der Provinz bediene, den Stämpfelmann und Stämpfelwaare zu beschützen; dass die Freiheitssöhne sich zwar dagegen gesetzt, aber nicht stark genug wären gegen die Streifer anzugeben. Einer von jenen, der den Tag über in den Baechuskriegen (oder Krügen) tapfer gefochten, hätte sich am Abend in der letztern Gesellschaft begeben, er wäre aber gleich hinaus geschupt worden, und hätte, nebst andern Freiheitsburschen, brav Rippenstösse bekommen; und die armen Einwohner fürchteten, es würde in wenig Tagen Stämpfelei genug unter ihnen geben.

In the debates in Parliament about this time, a certain Mr. G . . nv . . lle, as the Staatsbote calls him, became quite warm and even urged that a strong military force be sent to America to devastate the Colonies. Commenting on the above, Miller simply says, but tersely: "Wenn doch Herr G . . nv . . lle zum Kommandierenden General wider die Rebellion ernannt, und nach Boston geschickt würde." In the same issue, concerning the Sons of Liberty, Miller says: "Die Söhne der Freiheit sind überall standhaft, und treue Wächter gegen das Einschleichen der Sklaverei, etc."[2]

Miller has now again become somewhat more pacific

[1] *Staatsbote,* No. 212.

[2] *Staatsbote,* No. 214.

over against England, but remains firm in his insistence upon *Colonial rights*. If there are hot heads in Parliament who would force the Colonies into submission, there are others again who speak for the rights of the Americans. Miller always has a word of praise for such and he never fails to make much of the fact when a man like Pitt declares an act like the Stamp Act unconstitutional. In an article in the *Staatsbote* where Pitt was said to have made the above statement, Miller says: "Wärs doch wahr." [1] While the Stamp Act matter was debated in England, the ardor of the Colonists did not abate. On the contrary, there was no halt to the expressions of resentment. The following article will throw some light upon the conditions: "Es kommen noch beständig mehr Schlüsse von den Herren Freiheitssöhnen zum Vorschein, in welchen allen ein ausnehmender Geist der Treue gegen den König, und ein brennender Eifer zu Verteidigung der Freiheiten des Volkes hervor leuchtet. Ihr betragen ist überall ordentlicht." [2] In the next issue, there are these words: "Der Himmel benedeie den König und Grossbrittannischen Reichsrat mit heilsamen Ausschlägen! Er verleihe allen rechtschaffenen Verfechtern ihrer Rechten Standhaftigkeit." In issue No. 223, Miller translates the words:

> To her Faults a little blind
> To her Virtues a little kind,

thus

> Ihre Fehler überseht
> Ihre Tugenden erhölt.[3]

In large type the Staatsbote, gives the words of Pitt: "Ich freue mich dass America sich widersetzt hat." [4]

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[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 215.
[2] *Staatsbote*, No. 219.
[3] *Staatsbote*, No. 220.
[4] *Staatsbote*, No. 223.

At last the hateful Stamp Act measure was repealed by Parliament. Miller published the news upon its receipt and referring to another letter received perhaps at the same time when he received the above news added: "Ein anderer Auszug eines Briefes von London meldet, dass Herr Pitt den Colonien sich dergestalt angenommen, und im Parlament für sie gestritten habe, als wenn sie seine Kinder wären."

The crisis seemed now to have passed. Other letters received from London expressed the opinion that there would be no doubt as to the repeal of the Stamp Act. In one of these letters, a suggestion is made that if the Stamp Act were repealed, the Americans should not triumph too much over the legislative body of England. Commenting on this suggestion, Miller says:

> Es sind mehrere Briefe hier und an anderen Orten in America eingelaufen, worin eben derselbe heilsame Rat gegeben wird: Es ist zu wünschen, er möge angenomen werden, und ein jeder, anstatt toller Freude, Gott recht von Herzen danken, dass er diese höchst gefährliche Sache zu einem solchen glücklichen Ende gebracht hat.[1]

After the actual news of the repeal of the Stamp Act had reached America, the order of the day were jubilations. Miller shared the happiness of the hour. In a prominent place of his newspaper he printed the following words: "Den Herren lobt und benedeit, Er hat uns von der Stämpfel-Act befreit."[2] In the same issue in large type are these words: "Man kann des Guten nicht zu viel tun." Following these is his article on the repeal of the Stamp Act.

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[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 226.

[2] *Staatsbote*, No. 228.

Bosten, den 19 Mai. Wir erhalten in selbiger [*i.e.,* Brigantine Harrison, landed Friday] die so lange und sehnlich gewünschte Parlaments-Acte zu gänzlicher Widerrufung der Stämpfel-Acte, welche den 18ten. März die königliche bestätigung erhalten hat. Es ist kaum möglich zu beschreiben was diese höchst-erfreuliche und wichtige Nachricht für Wirkung hatte. Die Glocken in allen Kirchen wurden sogleich geläutet; die Flaggen und Wimpel der Schiffe ausgesteckt; und viele Kanonen gelöset in verschiedenen Gegenden der Stadt. Die Freiheitssöhne begaben sich nach dem je und je denkwürdigen Freiheitsbaum, und vergnügten sich bei dieser Gelegenheit mit feuren der Canonen, getreuen Gesundheitstrinken, und andern anständigen Freudensbezeigungen.

Then follows the account of the release from prison of all those who had been incarcerated on account of debt, to which Miller adds: "Ein nachamenswürdiges Beispiel."

There is quite a large article on the manner in which the New York Sons of Liberty celebrated the repeal of the Stamp Act, but the *Staatsbote* contains a much longer article on the celebration in Philadelphia. This was to be expected, for Philadelphia was the home of Bradford's paper and also of the *Staatsbote*. The article is as follows:

Da die Widerrufung der Stampel-Act eine fast allgemeine Freude in England verursacht hat, insbesonderheit unter denjenigen welche den hohen Wert ihrer Freiheit kennen, und wissen was für ein unaussprechlicher Segen dieselbe fürs menschliche Wesen ist: So ist es kein Wunder dass unsere Freude diesseits des Weltmeers, die Schranken der von unsern Freuden angeratenen Mässigung fast überschreitet. Aber ungeachtet der grossen und herrlichen Ursach unserer jetzigen Freudenbezeigungen, so hat gleichwohl keinen von den eifrigsten Freiheitssöhnen dieser Stadt ein einziger Exempel blicken lassen desjenigen Triumphs den unsere Freunde in England so sehr fürchteten, und unsere dasigen Feinde noch mehr wünschten; etc. . . .

After describing the manner in which the news was received in Philadelphia by a hearty threefold cheer, the *Staatsbote* continues:

Die Einwohner bestimmten sodann den nächsten Abend zu Beleuchtung der Stadt, welches zum allgemeinen Vergnügen aller Zuschauer geschah; die beleuchteten Häuser machten ein überaus schönes Ansehen, wozu die Geradigkeit unserer Strassen nicht wenig beitrug; es war indessen gleichwohl die angenehmste Veränderung in dieser Vorstellung durch die verschiedene Setzungsact der Lichter, Stansprüch, etc., so das Publicum dem Frauenzimmer zu danken hat, welches seine Einbilungskraft bei dieser Gelegenheit übte.

Es ist merkwürdig, dass die Stadt im geringsten nicht beunruhiget ward durch einerlei Lärmen oder Auflauf des Pöbels, welches bei dergleichen Gelegenheit was gemeines ist, sondern alles wurde angefangen, fortgesetzt und geendet zum allgemeinen Vergnügen der Einwohner. Eine grosse Menge Holz wurde zu einem Freudenfeuer, und dem Volk manch Fass Bier zum besten gegeben. Und am Mittwochen hatten die vornehmsten Einwohner der Stadt eine herrliche Mahlzeit auf dem Stadthause. . . .Nach dem Mittagsmahl wurde aus voll eingeschenkten Gläsern folgende Gesundheiten getrunken.

There follow now a list of 21 toasts, the last of which was:

Auf die Freiheit der Presse in America (die Brustwehr der Brittischen Freiheit, des unschätzbaren Kleinods des Publicii, wodurch ein jeder seine Sache der unparteischen Welt vor Augen legen kann)."[1]

Now that the Stamp Act had been repealed, Miller was satisfied. He had kept the Germans informed of what was going on and had by his fiery articles tested their cour-

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 228.

age and also their convictions. The fact that the Germans of the Colonies continued to read the *Staatsbote* and that the subscriptions thereto did not decrease, was a sufficient proof that Miller's constituency approved with heart and soul the patriotic policy of their newspaper.

Miller's Continued Activity as an American Patriot.

After the trying days of 1765, when the spirit of revolution was generated in the hearts of all men who stood for American rights, there seems to have been a period of comparative calm such as usually precedes the breaking of the storm. Along with other patriots, Miller had been led to believe that the mother-country had ulterior motives with respect to the stiff-necked American colonists. With others, Miller was convinced that England's purpose was to exploit her American subjects, and that the repeal of the Stamp Act was only a temporary conciliatory move for harsher measures in the future. Facts are the convincing evidence that this was to be the case. Hardly had the Stamp Act been repealed when the *Staatsbote* contained the following: "Es ist wie gesagt wird, ein plan in überlegung, eine billige und leichte landtax in allen Brittischen provinzen in Nord-America einzuführen, welche, ohne die unterthanen eben in noth zu bringen, die letztere wiederrufung der Stämpel-Act mehr als ersetzen wird." To the above item of news which appeared in the Foreign News section, Miller adds this editorial comment, "Es ist zu hoffen, dass dieser plan mit der Stämpeley gleiches schicksal haben werde." It was to be expected that letters of protest would be written against unjust taxation on the part of England. These letters Miller published as far

as possible, and following one of these letters of protest he very significantly says, "Die Colonien mögen den Wahlspruch der Holländer beobachten: *Eendracht maakt macht.*" [1]

It seems that the matter of Britain's right to tax the colonies was taken up by a number of European newspapers and discussed. Miller does not fail to indicate the name of these papers among which is the *London Chronicle,* and says: "Vielleicht findet die Sache der Americaner eher als mans denket in England allgemeinen Beyfall. Es währet bisweilen nur eine Zeitlang, dass Gewalt vor Recht gehet." [2] On February 7, 1769, Miller printed in German the petition of the representatives of the free inhabitants of the province of Pennsylvania addressed to the king.[3] In the issue following, February 14, 1769, he printed the petition of the assembly addressed to the honorable clergy and secular lords of Parliament.[4]

Miller never fails to note when a member of Parliament speaks in the interest of America. Thus he mentions Messrs. Burk, Wampole, and Pitt, and lauds their sense of justice. On October 29, 1769, the *London Chronicle* appeared with an article advocating the justice of the American cause, and suggesting that the Americans be regarded as brethren and not as a competing nation. This article, signed by "A Briton," Miller excellently translated and printed in his paper.

Writing as Miller did as a German-American for his fellow countrymen, he continually keeps before them matters that will fire their patriotism, which the following

[1] *Staatsbote,* No. 257.
[2] *Staatsbote,* No. 358.
[3] *Staatsbote,* No. 369.
[4] *Staatsbote,* No. 370.

article will illustrate: "Aus privat-nachrichten erhellet, dass unsere Deutschen Landsleute zu New York, sich bey der letztern wahl daselbst als rechtschaffene Freyheits-söhne bewiesen haben." Staatsbote No. 320. He also keeps before his readers the anniversary of the repeal of the Stamp Act. "Vergangenen Samstag, als den 18ten März, war der merkwürdige Gedächtniss-tag der Aufhebung der Stämpel-Act, bey welcher frohen Gelegenheit viele Freunde der Americanischen Freyheit ihre Freude bezeiget, und ist manche beherzte Gesundheit getrunken worden; besonders waren die fenster des Londoner Caffee-hauses hübsch illuminiret."[1] In one of the issues of his paper under the heading "Especially noteworthy days in this month," Miller has the following: "Repeal of the Stamp Act on the 18th inst."[2] In issue No. 384 there is the following sentiment: "*Durch Zusammenhalten stehen wir, durch Trennung fallen wir.*"

About this time the Earl of Chatham delivered a speech in Parliament in favor of the Americans. Miller translated this speech as follows:

Meine Meinung, America betreffend, ist noch jetzt dieselbige, die sie von jeher war. Sie ist diese: Wir müssen erst Gerechtigkeit widerfahren lassen, ehe wir Gehorsam erwarten wollen. Ich fühle die wärmste Achtung für America. Ich liebe die Americaner, weil sie Freiheit lieben, Freyheit hat, gleich einem Weinstocke, von diesem Lande nach den Colonien sich ausgebreitet. Freyheit bleibet in den Wildnissen von America: Ich halte die Pflanze hoch; ich verehre den Baum; und die Aeste wolte ich mit Liebe pflegen.

The Non-Importation Act now caused the Americans great concern. Of course, it was to be expected that they

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 374.
[2] *Staatsbote*, No. 580.

would resist this measure, although some Americans willingly acquiesced. This fact was the occasion for "boycotts" throughout the country as is indicated in *Staatsbote,* August 28, 1770:

Der dermaligen Americanischen nachrichten bestehen fast allemal in löblichen schlüssen derjenigen orte, welche fest bey der Nichteinführung von waaren beharren, mit den Newyorkern, und andern die den Nicht-einführungsvergleich verbrochen, keine gemeinschaft zu haben.[1]

In the issue of November 19, 1771, *Staatsbote,* No. 513, Miller becomes very sarcastic apropos of a public proclamation on the part of the governor of Massachusetts Province.

Von Boston wird unterm 4ten dieses gemeldet, dass Herr Hutchinson, Guvernör der Provinz Massachusetts Bay, eine Proclamation zu anberaumung eines allgemeinen Dankfestes herausgegeben hat, worin er verordnet, dass die Prediger in dem Kirchen-gebeth Gott danken sollen für die *Erhaltung ihrer Bürgerlichen und Religions-Freyheiten;* solches wird nun bey ihren jetzigen umständen für eine spötterey gehalten, und manche Prediger wollen es nicht thun, und viel andere leute erklären, dass, wofern ein Prediger diese Danksagungsformel brauchen würde, sie aus der Kirche gehen wollen.

That the Americans as a whole were a longsuffering people is evidenced by the many respectfully worded petitions sent to England concerning better treatment on the part of the mother-country. The whole tone of these petitions breathed good, sound common-sense, and the newspapers of the day generally counselled moderation in such petitions. An example of this fact is given in *Staatsbote,* No. 571, December 29, 1772:

[1] *Staatsbote,* No. 449.

Es befindet in den hiesigen Englischen Zeitungen ein langer aufsatz, an die Freylehnhalter und wahlberechtigte der Provinz Pennsylvanien gestellet, worin dieselbigen ermuntert und aufgefrischet werden, gegen die Zeit der Zusammenkunft der General Assembly am nächsten Montage anständige und schickliche bittschriften an ihre Abgeordnete in diesem unserm Landrath ergehen zu lassen, damit die Verhasste und für die freyheit der einwohner so gefährlich-als beschwerliche Accis-acte möge widerrufen werden. Der Himmel gebe, dass die Widerrufung zu stande komme.

That at least some of the people in that time believed in the principle of International arbitration is proved by the following: In one of the propositions to do away with the unbearable burdens, one or more of the Protestant Powers of Europe were to be invited to become arbiter between Great Britain and the American Colonies.[1]

The Rumblings of War.

By and by it became clear to the great number of Colonists that the mother-country would not institute reform measures for the conciliation of the Americans and that resistance would be the only alternative. Miller was one of the men who shared this view, and from the year 1775 on there is a decided tone in the Staatsbote for armed resistance. The following article is very significant, not to speak of its prophetic nature:

Künftigen Donnerstag wird bey dem Herausgeber dieser Zeitung zu haben seyn: Ein Schreiben an die Einwohner der Provinz Luebeck. Aus dem Protocoll des Congresses, und auf Verordnung desselben heraus gegeben; aus dem Englischen übersetzt. Diese Schrift gehört noch zu den Vorgängen im letztern Congress, und solte mit denen so betitelten Auszügen wohl aufbehalten werden; denn es wird den 10ten künftigen Maymonats (g.G.) aber-

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 577.

mal ein Congress seyn, um sodann alles zusammen zu sammeln, und vielleicht noch mehr Congresse, als die grössten Denkwürdigkeiten von America, für die Nachkommenschaft.[1]

In speaking of the plan to have different Assemblies send petitions to the king, Miller says:

Allein, wenn auch einzelne bittschriften dem thron übersandt werden solten, so hat man doch ursach zu glauben, sie werden mit andern worten eben das sagen was wir in der bittschrift des General-Congresses finden.[2]

And still another article:

Philadelphia, den 2 May, 1775. Heute vor acht tagen, um 3 uhr nachmittags, zufolge gegebener öffentlichen anzeige, war eine zusammenkunft von beynahe 8000 einwohner dieser stadt, um Maasregeln zu erwägen, die bey dem gegenwärtigen verwirrten zustande Americanischen sachen befolgt werden sollen.

Dieses Geschäft wird mit verschiedenen nachdrücklichen und patriotischen reden geöffnet, und die gesellschaft verglich sich einmüthiglich zu dem endzweck in ein bündnis zu treten, um ihr Eigenthum, Freyheit und Leben gegen alle anschläge, die sie dessen berauben wollen, mit den *Waffen* zu verteidigen.

Wir vernehmen, dass dergleichen verbundnise in den meisten Caunties dieser Provinz errichtet worden.[3]

The Continental atmosphere was now charged with the spirit of war. Miller's paper was outspoken along these lines. When he learned of the British plan to capture the American Congress, he writes: "Es ist die Schuldigkeit eines jeden in dieser provinz, sich gegen dieses ministerialische vornehmen vorzubereiten, um auf stündliche anzeige fertig zu seyn, den Congress zu verteidigen."[4] The phrase

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 676.
[2] *Staatsbote*, No. 684.
[3] *Staatsbote*, No. 693.
[4] *Staatsbote*, No. 693.

"um auf *stündliche Anzeige* fertig zu seyn" is the translation of the English expression, "the Minute Men." This same issue of the *Staatsbote* presents some more war spirit: "Unsere Provinzial-waffen, pulver, etc., sind alle in sicherheit. Überhaupt hat Mars sein reich in dieser volkreichen stadt aufgerichtet; und es ist nicht zu zweifeln dass wir binnen wenig wochen von diesem dato 4000 wohl ausgerüsteter wehrhaften leute sowohl zu unserer eigenen vertheidigung, als zum beystand unserer nachbarn, fertig haben werden." A letter which Miller prints coming from Bucks County, illustrating the general state of feeling at that place, concludes as follows: "Ein lehrjunger von den sogennanten Tories hielt es für rathsam plötzlich abschied zu nehemen, damit er nicht mit dem teer fass bekannt werden mochte."[1]

To such an extent did the feeling of armed resistance spread that even some of the members of religious sects opposed to war on religious grounds prepared for the coming conflict. The *Staatsbote* gives a vivid picture in the following article:

Es ist fast unmöglich den allgemeinen kriegerischen eifer zu beschreiben, der jetzt in dieser stadt herrscht. Eine ansehnliche zahl Quäker haben sich mit den militärisch-Verbundenen vereinigt. Eine ganze companie bestehet aus jungen Herren dis sich zu selbiger religion bekennen. Und wie wir hören, so sind auch in Lancaster Caunty grosse anzahlen von den Menonisten nicht gegen die ergreifung des gewehrs.[2]

From the Southland comes the following news:

Der Eifer unter den militzen in Virginia, sich in der kriegsübung vollkommen zu machen, ist sehr gross und sie scheinen von

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 695.
[2] *Staatsbote*, No. 695.

herzen geneight zu seyn, sich auf jeden nothfall wozu ihr land sie auffordert, zu rüsten.[1]

Another article is of the same tenor:

Philadelphia, June 2, 1775. Der Geist des widerstandes gegen die eigenmächtigen und tyrannischen Acten der Staatsbedienten und des Parlaments von Grossbrittannien hat sich allgemein durch diese Provinz ausgebreitet, dass das volk selbst bis an die äussersten grenzen unermüdet ist sich an der kriegs zucht zu üben.

Die alten sowohl als jungen marschieren täglich aus unter dem panier der Freyheit, und entdecken eine absolute entschlossenheit die Freyheit bis in den tod zu verteidigen.

In der stadt Reading, in Berks County, sind schon vor einiger zeit drey companien formiert worden, die schon sehr geschickt exerciren; allein seither hat, wie wir gewiss berichtet sind, sich noch eine vierte companie zusammen gathan, unter dem die Companie der alten Männer. Sie besteht aus etwan 80 Hochdeutschen, von 40 jahren alt und drüber; viele von ihnen sind in Deutschland in Kriegsdiensten gewesen. Ihr anführer ins feld, nach ihrer ersten zusammenkunft, ist 97 jahr alt, 40 jahr in kriegsdiensten gewesen, und bey 17 Hauptschlachten; und ihr trommelschläger ist 84 jahr. Anstatt eine cocarde tragen sie einen schwarzen flor auf dem huth, ihren kummer auszudrücken über die beklagenswürdigen begebenheiten, welche sie veranlasst haben in ihrer letzten lebenzeit die waffen gegen unsere brüder zu ergreifen, diejenige Freyheit zu erhalten, welche zu geniessen sie ihr vaterland verlassen hatten.

Ein Correspondent, der sie neulich einige stunden lang exerciren sahe, sagt, sie zeigten eine solche gesetzte standhaftigkeit in ihren angesichtern und solche stärke und geschicklichkeit in handhabung ihrer waffen, und übrigen kriegerischen verrichtungen, dass es ihm mit der höchsten ehrerbiet und hochachtung für diese in der that ehrwürdige bande erfüllete.[2]

Not only the men of the provinces were active in pre-

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 696.

[2] *Staatsbote*, No. 699.

paring for war, but also the women. The *Staatsbote* has this to record concerning some of their activities:

Das Frauenzimmer in Bristol Taunship hat eine preiswürdige achtung für das beste ihres landes bewiesen: Sie haben auf ihre eigene kosten das regiment selbiger grafshaft mit fahnen und trommeln versehen, und machen jetzt eine geldsammlung, diejenigen mit gewehr zu versorgen, welche nicht im stande sind sich solches selbst anzuschaffen. Wir vernehmen, dass dasjenige Frauenzimmer, welche bestimmet war dem regimente die fahnen zu übergeben, den soldaten einschärfte, nie die Fahnen der Frauenzimmer zu verlassen, wenn sie je wünschten, dass die Frauenzimmer sich unter ihr Panier solten anwerben lassen.[1]

Miller considered the speech which Pitt delivered in Parliament January 20, 1775, of such importance that he translated the whole of it into German and offered it as a premium to those of his subscribers who would pay their subscription within one year. In reference to this speech, the translator makes this comment:

Es ist dieses ein Meisterstück von einer Rede, worin Seine Herrlichkeit gleichsam in einem prophetischen Geiste vorher verkündiget was für Folgen der Versuch die verhassten und Land verderblichen Parlaments-Acten halsstarriger und gewaltsamer Weise den Colonien aufzudringen, haben würde; wie es leider am Tage ist.

Another article showing the warlike spirit of the hour and the personal sacrifices the Colonists were willing to make for the cause of liberty reads thus:

Philadelphia, June 13, 1775. Ein Herr, der neulich durch Connecticut reisete, berichtet, dass er daselbst eine ehrwürdige alte frau antraff, welche ihm sagte, sie hätte 5 söhne und 11 enkel ausgerüstet, und nach Boston geschickt, als sie von dem gefecht zwischen den Provinzialen und regulären gehört. Derr Herr

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 700.

fragte sie, ob sie nicht beym abschiednehmen von ihnen ein Zährlein vergossen hatte? Nein (sagte sie), ich habe nie mit grösseren vergnügen abschied von ihnen genommen. Aber gesetzt (sagte der Herr) sie wären alle getödet worden? Ich hätte sie lieber gewollt dass solches geschehen wäre (sagte die edle alte mutter), als dass einer von ihnen als ein feige mir zurück gekommen wäre.[1]

Washington Selected as Commander-in-Chief.

The elevation of Washington as Commander-in-Chief of the American forces is thus given:

Philadelphia, d. 23 Juny. Der Achtbare Congress hat den Herrn George Washington von Virginien zum Oberbefehlshaber aller Americanischen truppen ernannt.[2]

The *Staatsbote* kept its readers informed from time to time as to how the American cause was received in European countries. Monarchical Germany seemingly favored the cause of the Americans as the following letter indicates:

Aus einem briefe von Deutschland ersehen wir, dass in den dortigen Protestantischen kirchen beständig für den glücklichen erfolg der Americaner in ihrem gegenwärtigen rechtmässigen kampf mit dem Brittischen Ministerii gebete zum Himmel geschickt werden. . . . Ein Herr zu Hamburg, welcher viel jahr als ein angesehener Bürger zu Philadelphia gewohnt hat, meldet in einem schreiben, unterm 4ten letzten Märzen, an seinen freund in dieser stadt folgendes: Wir bitten Gott täglich, dass Er den Americanern gegen ihre feinde beystehen wolle.[3]

Another article says:

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 702.
[2] *Staatsbote*, No. 705.
[3] *Staatsbote*, No. 706.

Das betragen des General Congresses zu Philadelphia wird durch ganz Deutschland genehmiget; und jederman ist höchst entrüstet über das ungerechte und tyrannische verfahren des Lords North.[1]

Miller also tells of the attitude of the French.

Auszugsschreiben von einem Americanischen Herrn zu Paris, vom 2ten May, 1775, an seinen freund in Philadelphia. . . . Ich finde die Franzosen sind auf unsere Americanischen staatssachen sehr aufmerksam, und alle mit einander unserer sache gewogen. Ob solches aus widerwillen gegen Grossbrittannien oder freundschaft zu den Colonien herrühret ist ungewiss; allein sie geben vor, es sey aus einer menschenliebenden denkungsart und achtung gegen die natürlichen rechte des menschlichen Geschlechts. Sie sagen, dass ganz Europa die Americaner entweder verehren oder verabscheuen werde, je nachdem sie bey der bevorstehenden entwickelung aufführen werden; sie würden keinen mittel-character haben; denn so sehr ihr tugend und standhaftigkeit ihnen ruhm und ehre bringen wird, so sehr werde ihre zahme unterwerfung sie zu einem verächtlichen volk machen.[2]

The matter of armed resistance was the general spirit of the hour not only among the people in general but among the representatives of the Colonists in particular. At any rate these representatives issued a statement to the people declaring the causes and the necessity for resistance. This proclamation appeared as follows in Miller's paper:

Eine Erklärung Durch die Repräsentanten der Vereinigten Colonien von Nord America, gegenwärtig versammelt in General Congress zu Philadelphia, worin die Ursachen und die Nothwendigkeit ihrer Waffenergreifung an den tag gelegt werden.[3]

Even in that day unscrupulous persons desired to make

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 706.
[2] *Staatsbote*, No. 709.
[3] *Staatsbote*, No. 710.

capital out of the issues of the day through misrepresentation. Because of this fact, Miller's blood boils, and he printed the following article:

Von allen Betrügereyen womit das Publicum jetzt gedrückt wird, kan wol der boshafteste Mensch keine ärger ersinnen als diejenige, welche dem Herausgeber dieser Zeitung zu Ohren gekommen ist, näml. Dass Leute 50 und mehr Meilen ins Land gehen Waaren aufzukaufen, unter dem Vorwand es sey für die Soldaten, und selbige hernach mehr als noch einmal so theuer in der Stadt wieder verkaufen; und damit sie unter einem verdammlichen Schein von Gutartigkeit auch das einfältige Landvolk betrügen, so geben sie vor, wenn sie zu Menonisten oder Leuten kommen die kein Gewehr führen, Leinwand zu kaufen, es say für die Soldaten zu Hemdern, und weil sie doch selbst nicht fechten, würden sie wol behülflich seyn, dass die armen Soldaten Hemder bekommen, etc., etc.[1]

The following clarion call to arms, which appeared anonymously in Bradford's paper, and which summed up all the vital issues of the hour, was translated by Miller to which an appendix was added, evidently by the editor himself. This fire brand was read by the Germans from Maine to Georgia, and from the coast to the frontier, and contributed no little inspiration and encouragement. Although somewhat lengthy, it appears herewith in full.

1776. Dienstags, den 19 März. Aus den Englischen Zeitungen. Ihr Americaner. Gedenket an die Stempel-Acte, wodurch unermessliche summen geldes jährlich von euch erpresset werden solten.

Gedenket an die Declarations-Acte, wodurch (das Brittische Parlament) sich eine macht anmassete euch in allen fällen nach eigenem wohlgefallen ohne euere einwilligung zu binden.

Gedenket an das gebrochene versprechen des Staatsamtes, niemals

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 789.

wieder zu versuchen America einen tax aufzulegen. (In des Lords Hillsburgh Circulat-schreiben.)

Gedenkt an die Zoll-Acte.

Gedenket an das blutbad zu Boston, durch Britische soldaten angerichtet.

Gedenket an die zerstöhrung jener ehedem blühenden stadt durch eben dieselbigen soldaten.

Gedenket an das blutbad zu Lexington.

Gedenket des verbrennens von Charlestown.

Gedenket an des Generals Gage ehrenloses brechen von treu und glauben gegen die leute zu Boston.

Gedenket des canonirens, bombardirens und verbrennens von Falmouth.

Gedenket des heftigen gekreisches und geschreyes der weiber und kinder.

Gedenket des canonirens von Stonington und Bristol.

Gedenket an das verbrennen von Jamestown, Rhode Island.

Gedenket an die öftern aufälle von Newport.

Gedenket der gebrochenen Freybriefe.

Gedenket des canonirens von Hampton.

Gedenket an die Beschirrungs-und Ermunterungs-Acte für eure Mörder.

Gedenket des canonirens von New York.

Gedenket an das verändern euerer bestätigten Gesetze von Juries (oder process untersuchung durch Geschworne).

Gedenket an das dingen fremder kriegsknechte gegen euch.

Gedenket an die verwerfung des vergleichs-entwurfs von Lord Chatham und den Herrn Hartley und Burke.

Gedenket an die verwerfung aller eurer vielen demüthigen bittschriften.

Gedenket an die verachtung mit welcher man von euch in beyden Parlaments-häusern gesprochen hat.

Gedenket der unmännlichen bemühung fremde nationen zu hindern euch mit gewehr und andern kriegsnothdüftigkeiten zu versehen; da indessen sie (das Parlament und Staatsamt) sich bewusst waren dass sie im sinn hatten euch die gurgeln abzuschneiden.

Gedenket an das dingen von wilden völkern, eure landsleute mit ihren hausgenossen zu ermorden.

Gedenket an das bestechen der schwarzen sclaven ihre Herren meuchelmörderisch umzubringen.

Gedenket an das verbrennen von Norfolk. (Diese stadt und alle vorhergemeldete, waren offene, wehrlose städte, welche nach den kriegsgesetzen allezeit geschonet werden solten.)

Gedenket daran dass man euch nöthigte dreyfache zölle zu bezahlen, da ihr anfinget mit den landschaften zu handeln, welche ihr für England hattet erobern helfen (Parlaments-Acte im 14ten jahr der regierung Georgs des Dritten, wodurch ein zoll von drey pens auf die gallon von allem brandtwein der von Grossbrittanien in Canada eingeführt wurde, gelegt ward, und neun pens wenn derselbe von Nord-America dahin gebracht wurde).

Gedenket daran dass sie euch alles antheils an den fischereyen beraubt haben an deren eroberung ihr eben sowohl als sie euer gut und blut gewandt hattet.

Gedenket an die einschränkung eurer wollen-manufacturen, eures huthmachens, und eurer eisen-und stahl-hämmer und schmeltzöfen.

Gedenket an die willkürlichen Admiralitäts-gerichte.

Gedenket an die unmenschliche behandlung des tapfern Obersten Allen, und an die eisene banden in welchen er nach England ist geschickt worden.

Gedenket an das lang eingewurzelte, schändliche feilsayn des Brittischen Parlaments (dessen meisten Glieder fürs Geld alles thun was der Hof haben will).

Gedenket an den verdorbenen, stinkenden, faulen zustand jener nation, und an den tugendhaften, unverletzten gesunden stand eurer eigenen neuen landsverfassung.

Gedenket der tryanney des Mezentius, welcher lebendiger menschangesichter auf der todten ihre binden liess. (Mezentius war vorzeiten ein König von Etrurien, heutiges tags das Florentinische. Die wirkung dieser seiner that lebendiger menschen angesichter zu der todten ihren binden zu lassen war, dass eins

das andere vergiftete. Der verfasser dieser erinnerung hat zweifelsohne darbey zur absicht die Americaner zu warnen, die Englische verfaulte landesverfassung nicht mit ihrer gesunden zu vermischen.)

Gedenket der verhärtung und des unvergebenden geistes eins gewaltsamen Harrn, offenbar in der Behandlung seiner eigenen brüder.

Gedenket daran, dass ein rühmlicher tod einem schmachvollen leben vorzuziehen ist; und vergesset nie was ihr auch selbst, euren häusern und eurer nachkommenschaft schuldig seyd.

Ein Deutscher Freyheits-Freund verlangt dem Obigen noch Folgendes angehängt zu haben:

Gedenket und erinnert die Eurigen daran, dass ihr, der dienstbarkeit zu entgehen und die freyheit zu geniessen, unter den grössten beschwerlichkeiten und ungemach, nach America gezogen seyd.

Gedenket daran, dass, wo die leibeigenschaft in Deutschland statt hat, kein leibeigener ohne bewilligung seines Herrn heirathen darf: und dass sowol eltern als kinder wenig besser als die schwarzen sclaven in Westindien geachtet werden.

Gedenket daran, dass unter einem gewissen grossen Könige, ein kind männlichen geschlechts gleichsam von der Wiege an mit einem rothen halsband als ein künftigerknecht ausgezeichtnet wird.

Gedenket an die frondienst, welche der untherthan, insonderheit der landmann, an manchen orten thun muss. Vielmal müssen die leute zwey bis drey tage in der woche bey eigener kost frohnen, die übrige zeit mögen sie für sich selbst erbeiten.

Gedenket an die schweren und fast unerschwinglichen abgaben des unterthans an den Landsherrn, so dass dem erstern oft kaum das liebe leben übrig ist.

Gedenket daran, dass, wann an sehr vielen orten der banersmann sein land eingesäet hat, und die frucht nicht will durchs wild verzehret werden er von der saatzeit an bis zur ernte seine felder bewachen muss; und darf bey schwerer strafe, das wild kaum scheuchen.

Gedenket daran, dass, wenn es dem Landsherrn gefällt sich mit der jagd zu erlustigen, der landmann das wild zusammen treiben muss.

Gedenket daran, dass, wenn etwan ein Kanzley-oder Amtsschreiber einen brief eine halbe oder ganze tagereise zu bestellen hat, er nun frägt, an wen ist die reihe des botenlaufens? Der botenläufer kömmt; der Herr Secretarius gibt ihm den brief; scharft ihm ein wenn er zurück seyn muss; ist er nicht zur bestimmten zeit wieder da so ist er glücklich wenn er ohne prügel davon kömmt. Hat er ein stück brodt auf den weg mitgenommen, so hat er was zu essen, hat ers nicht gethan, muss er betteln oder mag hunger leiden.

Gedenket daran, dass zu kriegszeiten, bey durchmärschen oder quartirungen der soldaten, selbige der bürger und landmann fast aus dem hause jagen, die besten gemächer einnehmen und betten haben wollen, wenn auch der hauswirth auf dem stroh oder der bank liegen müsste.

Gedenk daran, dass die Englischen Staatsdiener und ihr Parlament America auf eben den fuss und vielleicht ärger haben möchten.

Diesem könte noch manches Gedenke daran beygefügt werden. Aber, ihr lieben Landsleute.

Gedenkt besonders auch daran, welche unendliche ursachen wir haben Gott zu danken für das gute land das Er uns gegeben hat: und Ihn anzuflehen, uns die gnade zu verleihen in seinen wegen zu wandeln; die bisher erhaltenen vortheile über unsere feinde nicht unsern heldenthaten, etc., zuzuschreiben, sondern seiner unverdienten gnade; und von herzen zu glauben was sein wort uns sagt: "Der sieg kömmt vom Herrn, und wird nicht durch grosse menge erhalten." Sodann mögen wir auch von herzen männlich kämpfen für unsere theuren Freyheiten, und hoffen und glauben, Er werde alles nach seinem allein-weisen Rathschluss zu unserm besten ausführen.[1]

In a succeeding issue, Miller again gives some cheering news from Europe.

Man hat gewisse nachricht aus Deutschland, dass die Americanische Sache daselbst je länger je mehr aufsehens macht; dass an

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 782.

denen orten wo die Zeitungsschreiber nicht zu sehr eingeschränkt sind, es ihre hauptmaterie ist; dass man fürchtet es werde einen allgemeinen krieg durch ganz Europa nach sich ziehen. Der gemeine man, den das harte joch seines tyrannischen Fürsten drückt, genehmiget den widerstand der Americaner, und dieser leute sprache ist; Hätten wirs vor hundert oder zweihundert jahren auch so gemacht, wären wir jetzt keine sclaven.[1]

Declaration of Independence.

To the *Staatsbote* belongs the honor of having been the first newspaper in Philadelphia to publish the fact that Independence was declared by the American Congress. Miller's paper was the only paper which appeared on Friday July 5, 1776. The Fourth of July, 1776 fell on Thursday, consequently the next day *The Staatsbote,* which had so courageously fought for American principles, made its appearance in the largest type in the printing establishment as follows: "July 5, 1776. Philadelphia, den 5

Die rede gehet durchgängig, daß unsere kreuzfahrer 30 transportschiffe gegen Osten zu genommen haben.

Philadelphia, den 5 July.

Gestern hat der Achtbare Congreß dieses Westen Landes die Vereinigten Colonien Freye und Unabhängige Staaten erkläret.

Die Declaration in Englisch ist jetzt in der Presse; sie ist datirt, den 4ten July, 1776, und wird heut oder morgen im druck erscheinen.

[1] *Staatsbote,* No. 810.

July. Gestern hat der Achtbare Congress dieses Vesten Landes die Vereinigten Colonien Freye und Abhängige Staaten erkläret. Die Declaration in English ist jetzt in der Presse; sie ist datirt den 4ten July, 1776, und wird heut oder morgen im druck erscheinen." On the following Tuesday when the next issue of the *Staatsbote* appeared, Miller had a supplement containing the full text of the Declaration of Independence in large conspicuous type.

The effects of war were soon felt in all lines of work. In the issue of December 3, 1776, the *Staatsbote* speaks of it:

Man Merke es Wohl! Da jetzt alles was Waffen tragen kann, dazu aufgefordert ist, und fast ein jeder selbige freywillig und mit frohem Muth ergriffen hat; und daher die Buchdruckereyen in dieser Stadt, wie fast alle andere Werkstätte, von Arbeitern gleichsam ausgeleeret sind: So kan es seyn, dass eine Zeitlang keine wöchentliche Zeitungen herauskommen wie bisher gewöhnlich gewesen ist. Indessen können diejenigen von unsern Zeitungskunden, welche ihr Jahrgeld voraus bezahlt haben, sich darauf verlassen, dass sie keinen Pfennig vedlieren sollen.[1]

In the next issue of the paper, Miller again asks his subscribers to be patient during the critical times:

Damit das Publicum zu dieser bedenklichen Zeit nicht ohne politische Nachrichten leben müsse: so wird wol eine oder die andere Englische Zeitung wöchentlich herauskommen, und auch der herausgeber dieser seine Kundleute so lange wöchentlich mit einem halben Bogen versehen, bis seine Arbeit wieder in richtiger Ordnung fortgehet.[2]

Miller was certainly an optimist. He could encourage

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 837.
[2] *Staatsbote*, No. 838.

in the darkest hour. This quality, of course, was one of the chief assets of his newspaper. But Miller never encouraged by withholding truth. He presented facts as they occurred. Thus he says: " 1777, Mittwochs den 17 Sept. Unsere lieben Kundleute müssen dismal mit einem halben Bogen vorlieb nehmen, weil man keine Arbeiter hat, und ein jeder rechtsschaffener Mann so viel er kan, mit der Vertheidigung seines Landes und der Freyheit bescäftiget ist. (Vielleicht kömt nächstens keine Zeitung heraus.) "[1] This last part was evidently inserted in the above article just before going to press, and at a time when Miller saw the oncoming storm.

When the storm broke over Philadelphia[2] in all its fury, it caused a number of noteworthy changes, and inflicted heavy losses on Miller and other "notorious" rebels.[3] From a National standpoint the most prominent change was the removal of the Continental Congress from Philadelphia to York, Pa. General Howe of the British forces took possession of Philadelphia, September 26, 1777, and held the city until June 18, 1778. This fact necessitated the removal of the Continental Congress, which until this time had held its sessions in Philadelphia. Congress removed to York and remained at this place from September 30, 1777, to June 27, 1778. But not only did Congress have to leave the city, but also such a fiery patriot as the editor of the *Staatsbote*. A place infested with Tories as Philadelphia was at that time (and among the Loyalists was Miller's competitor, Christopher Saur) was not a safe place for Miller, the revolutionary printer, so he left Philadelphia for Bethlehem, leaving his printing outfit

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 877.

[2] Cf. Bradford, p. 6, 156.

[3] Faust, p. 304.

in charge of his housekeeper. His prophecy in the last issue of the *Staatsbote* came literally true, "Vielleicht kömt nächstens keine Zeitung heraus."

For a long time we now lose sight of the German patriot printer. Presumably he plyed his trade in Bethlehem. However, it seems that he could not rest long at this place. It could not be supposed that a man with Miller's liberty-loving nature and with his zeal for the American cause could remain long from the seat of action. He could not fight for the American cause on the field of battle, but he could wield his pen in behalf thereof. Consequently, Miller followed Congress to York. In the diary of George Neisser, a Moravian Minister of York, there is this account of Miller: "May 2, 1778. Henry Miller arrived from Bethlehem with letters describing the condition of affairs in Philadelphia and vicinity."[1] While at York, Miller published in German the Address of Congress, evidently on a borrowed press, in order that it might be read to the various congregations, as ordered by Congress.[2] The history of this address is as follows: On Wednesday May 6, 1778, Congress resolved, That a committee of three be appointed to prepare an address to the inhabitants of these states, upon the present situation of public affairs: The members chosen, Mr. Richard Henry Lee, Mr. Samuel Chase, and Mr. Gouverneur Morris. On Friday May 8, 1778, this committee brought in a draught of their address to the inhabitants of the United States, which was read, and sundry amendments being made therein was agreed as follows: Resolved, That it be recommended to ministers of the gospel of all denominations to read or cause to be read, immediately after divine

[1] *Pa. Magazine*, Vol. 16, 1892, p. 435.
[2] *Pa. Magazine*, 16, p. 436.

service, the above address to the inhabitants of the United States of America in their respective churches and chapels, and other places of religious worship.[1]

After the British troops had left Philadelphia, Miller returned to his former place of business, July 4th, 1778, but found things in a very bad condition. In his Almanac of 1779, under the title of Kurze Nachricht von der Stadt Philadelphia, he describes the condition of the city after the occupation on the part of Howe's soldiers, and estimates the number of people who were forced to leave Philadelphia when the British entered it.

Dies war die liebliche Gestalt einer in 1778 noch nicht hundert jahr alten Stadt dieser Neuen Welt, ehe die Unsinnigkeit, Ungerechtigkeit und der grenzlose Stolz der Regenten Grossbrittaniens, ihren Greuel der Verwüstung, zu ihrem eigenem Unglück, vom 26sten Septembers, 1777, bis zum 28ten Juny, letztern Jahrs, auch an dieser guten Stadt und ihren umliegenden Gegenden ausgeübt hatten: Da seither an manchen Orten in der Stadt selbst nur Schutt und Ruinen, und etliche Meilen um dieselbe, von den schönsten Landsitzen bloss die Kamine und Stücken von Mauern die das Feuer nicht verzehren konte, als Fussstapfen des Verderbens, mit betrübten Augen zu sehen sind.

Nach einem dem Lord Howe eingelieferten Verzeichnis, nachdem die Brittischen Soldaten, Hessen, und andere ihre Hülfsvölker die Stadt in Besitz genommen hatte, war die Anzahl der bewohnten und leeren Haüser, auch gebrauchten und leeren Waarenlagern, 6,341; die Anzahl Einwohner männlich und weiblichen Geschlechts, 23,734. Die Brittische Armee, da sie in der Stadt ganz beysammen was, wurde 15,000 Mann gerechtnet, so dass die Anzahl Menschen in Philadelphia zu selbiger Zeit 38,734 muss gewesen seyn. Es wird dafür gehalten, dass 20,000 Manschen aus der Stadt gewesen sind, so lange die Brittische Armee in derselben die Herrschaft gehabt hat.

[1] Library of Congress—Journal of the Continental Congress, Vol. XI, 1778, p. 471–481.

Miller was a man who always took his constituency into his confidence. And as on former occasions, so now again he appealed to them. He told them of his predicament, the confiscation of his printing-press,[1] and publicly named these whom he considered responsible for the theft of his printing outfit during his absence. The broadside, which he issued at this time, herewith given in full, speaks for itself.

Heinrich Millers, des Buchdruckers in Philadelphia, /nöthige Vorstellung/ an die Deutschen in Pennsylvanien, etc./

Geehrte und werthe Landsleute!

Am 25sten letztern Septembers, da die bittern Feinde von America gegen diese Stadt andrungen, ward ich genöthiget alle das Meinige plötzlich zu verlassen, und mit dem Rücken anzusehen, um nur meinen Leib und Leben, vermittels der Flucht, ihrer Wuth zu entreissen.

Neun Monat und eben so viel Tage hatte ich als ein ins Elend Vertriebener, in Kummer und Noth zugebracht, da ich den 4ten July in diese Stadt zurück kam, aber zu meinem grossen Herzeleid fand dass mir meine wohleingerichtete Buchdruckerei geraubt war, welche ich mit sauer Mühe und Schweiss manche Jahre her, mit grossen Kösten zusammen gebracht und aufgerichtet hatte, um selbige hinfort so lange mir der Herr das Leben fristen würde, unpartheyisch, dem Aufbau des Reiches Gottes und der Tugend und Beforderung der Wahlfahrt dieses Landes, bey einem nöthigen Auskommen, zu widmen.

Weil nun seith meiner Ankunft, wo ich, sowohl in der Stadt als auf dem Lande gesehen werde, meine ehemaligen geneigten Kundleute und Freunde mich ohn Unterlass fragen: Ob ich nicht bald wieder anfange zu drucken? so hab ich es für nöthig gehalten ihnen einige Nachricht von dieser zum Nachtheil der Deutschen und meinem Verderben überlegten und beschlossenen Rauberei ver-

[1] Faust, Vol. I, 304.

mittels einer Fremden Presse, nach der Wahrheit, kürzlich mitzutheilen, wie folgt:

Christoph Sauer, der jüngere, von Germantown, welcher mit dem General Howe in die Stadt gezogen und sein Deutscher Drucker war (nachdem er die Feinde einsmals zu Germantown angeführt hatte, und daselbst von den Unsrigen gefangen, aber für Mr. Losch, den Pulvermacher, ausgewechselt worden war), kam am 29sten letztern Janners zu der Frau Lehmannin, die ich, mit zweyen von ihren Kindern, in meinem Hause, auf ihr Begehren, hinterlassen hatte, und sagte zu ihr: General Howe habe ihm ein Geschenk von meiner Druckerei gemacht, damit zu thun was ihm beliebe; er verlange sie aber nicht, sondern wolle nur die Schlüssel dazu nehmen, und sie bewahren, damit ich nach meiner Zurückkunft sie wieder in Besitz nehmen möge. Einige Zeit hernach kam er und verlangte etwas daraus zu borgen oder zu kaufen, welches die Frau Lehmann ihm abschlug. Er ist aber nachher nach seinem eigenen Gefallen gekommen, hat die Druckerey aufgemacht und darin gathan was er wollte.

Währender Zeit dieses Vorgangs hatte der Junge Saur einen Gehülfen in dem Geheimniss seiner Bosheit bekommen, mit Names James Robertson, der einer von Howes Englischen Druckern war. Dieser kam den 4ten Juny, ehe die Feinde die Stadt verlassen hatte, und fragte die Frau Lehmannin ob sie ihm nicht meine Druckerey verkaufen wolte? Sie antwortete: Nein. Worauf er den Schlüssel zu derselben foderte. Es wurde ihm geantwortet Saur habe selbigen. Robertson ging hin und holte den Schlüssel von Saurs Frau, in Hrn. John Morris seinem Hause, wo Saur wohnte, kam und sagte, Er habe Befehl vom Hauptquartier Heinrich Millers Buchdruckerey wegzunehmen, denn die Americaner hätten ihm seine zu Albanien genommen, brachte auch zu gleicher Zeit eine Anzahl Leute, des Königs Wägen und Kärche mit, lud Schriften, die beste Presse, Setzkästen, Regäler, in Summa alles auf, und eilte so schnell als möglich damit nach dem Schiffe zu. Von der sweyten zurückgelassenen Presse haben die Räuber Christoph Saur der Jüngere und Companie, ein Theil genommen, und

sie samt dem wenigen von Schriften so übrig gelassen, unbrauchbar gemacht.

Ein Paar Tage vor dem Raube, ward eine Weibsperson an die Frau Lehmannin angeschickt, um heimlich von ihr zu forschen, ob Hr. Doctor Franklin nicht ein gross Antheil an meiner Druckerey habe? welche Frage auch an sie von Sir William Erskin im Hauptquartier geschahe? Sie beantwortete aber selbige beydemal mit Nein, und versicherte, nach der Wahrheit, dass die Druckerey gänzlich und bloss allein mein Eigentum sey. Die Einbildung, dass Doctor Franklin ein gross Antheil an meiner Druckerey haben müsse, ist vermuthlich daher entstanden, weil Saur wusste, dass ich für Hrn. Franklin gearbeitet, und viele Jahre hochgedachten grossen und rechtschaffenen Mannes Achtung und Gewogenheit genossen hatte.

Solchergestalt ist ein nützlicher Bürger dieser Stadt, ein ehrlicher Mann und wohlbekannter und bewährter Freund von America und dessen Freyheit, der Mittel beraubt worden, sich und die Seinigen zu nähren, und zwar durch einen vorbedachten und überlegten Anschlag zweyer Bösewichter, deren Absicht und Endzwek zugleich gewesen, den Deutschen in diesem Lande die Gelegenheit abzuschneiden publike Sachen zu erfahren, damit sie fein in der Unwissenheit hingehen, und viele von ihnen, aus Mangel besseren Unterrichts und daraus fliessenden Einsicht, die Dummköpfe einer Parthie bleiben möchten, welche seith dem Anfang dieses Streits nur schon zu viel Unglück in diesem Staat gestiftet hat.

Das Einkommen des Staats wird durch diesen Raub vermindert; denn wenn ein Mann seinem ehrlichen Beruf nicht treiben kan, so ist er auch nicht im Stande viel zu den Bedürfnissen eines Staats beyzutragen, etc., etc.

Mein Verlust ist gleichsam unersetzlich, weil keine Buchdruckerschriften in beträchtlicher Menge in diesem Welttheile zu haben sind. Da nun noch ein grosser Theil von des Jungen Saurs Druckerey hinterlassen und entdeckt worden ist, so wird der Weisheit und Gerechtigheit der sämtlichen Hochachtbaren Regenten dieses Staats unterthänigst anheim gestellt, ob nicht einige Entschädigung

verdiene, der Obern besonders, und des Deutschen Publici überhaupt, treuergebenster Freund und Diener.

Philadelphia, den 22sten July, 1778. Henrich Miller.

N.B. Inzwischen können die Deutschen in dieser Staat versichert seyn, dass ich bemühen werde, so bald nur möglich eine Presse zu bekommen, um wenigstens wöchentlich eine Zeitung von einem halben Bogen herauszugeben.

Es sind noch einige Calender für dieses Jahr bey Henrich Miller zu haben, und er hofft auch einen auf nächstes Jahr heraus zu geben.[1]

After a cessation period of almost one year, the printing of *The Staatsbote* was resumed, August 5, 1778, No. 878. The first few issues were printed on a half sheet, but after several weeks, the paper again appeared in full size. Miller's editorial follows:

1778, Mittwochs, d. 5. Aug. Liebe Freunde. Nachdem ich mich einigermassen von der Bestürzung, in welche mich der Raub meiner Druckerey gesetzt hat, erholt habe, will ich getrost, in Gottes Namen, wieder anfangen, ihnen, nach Vermögen mit meinen übrig gelassenen Deutschen Buchstaben und einer geborgten Presse zu dienen. Den Anfang mach ich mit der Zeitung, und zwar mit folgendem letztern May-monat zu Yorktaun von unserer hohen Obrigkeit herausgegeben vortrefflichen Stück, näml. Ein Ausschreiben des Congresses an die Vereinigten Staaten von Americas.[2]

Even though Miller was content to continue the publication of his celebrated newspaper, times were bad and Miller worked under the difficulties of a broken spirit, caused by the loss he sustained through the seizure of his press. However, some of his old fire and zeal is still

[1] Broadsides 4, p. 531. Pa. Historical Society.

[2] *Staatsbote*, No. 878. This is the translation of the Address already referred to.

apparent, and his rugged honesty is most pronounced in the following:

1778. Sept. 30. Letzte Erinnerung. Das neue Einschreiben zu beschleunigen, wonach die Zeitungsleser so sehr verlangen, werden diejenigen, so letzteres Jahr vor meiner Flucht, auf die Zeitung zum voraus bezahlt und daher noch etwas zu gut haben, zum letztenmal ersucht das ihnen zukommende Geld abzuholen, oder durch zuverlässige Personen abholen zu lassen. Und solchen Herren und Freunde an welche die Zeitungs-Packete geschickt worden sind, werden hiedurch bevollmächtigt, die rückständigen Schulden für die Zeitung, von denen die selbige gehalten und nicht bezahlt haben, gegen billige und von ihnen selbst betimmende Commission, einzufodern, ja nöthigen falls rechtlich einzutreiben; wiewol letzteres hoffentlich nicht nöthig seyn wird weil doch zu vermuthen ist, es werde niemand so niederträchtige ja ungerechte Gesinnungen hegen, einem Manne der wie bekannt so grosse Beschwerlichkeiten und unersetzlichen Verlust, aus Liebe für die Freyheit dieses Landes, durch die Feinde desselben erlitten hat, seinen sauer verdienten Lohn vorzuenthalten.

In Erwartung also, es werde ein jeder das ihm Gehörige sich bald von mir bezahlen lassen, und der mir schuldig ist, seine Schuld gleichsam bald abtragen; so kan ein jeder wer will sich von nun an einschreiben lassen, in der Stadt bey mir, und im Lande bey denen Personen welche die Packete bekommen: Allein niemand wird von neuem eingeschrieben der seine alte Schuld nicht bezahlt hat. Der Preis für die Zeitung wird jetzt Sechs Thaler des Jahrs seyn; man kan sich aber auch für ein halb Jahr einschreiben lassen; doch das Geld muss gleich beym einschreiben bezahlt werden. Denn gesetzt ich stürbe auch, und niemand hätte etwas zu fodern, so weiss ein jeder wo er das Seinige wieder bekommen kan, aber wenn Leute ein Jahr nach dem andern die Zeitung halten ohne zu bezahlen, ziehen weg bald da bald dort hin, wie komme ich zu meiner Bezahlung.

Wer denkt Zwey Pfund und Fünf Schilling für die Zeitung des Jahrs sey viel Geld, da sie doch sonst nur Sechs Schillinge ge-

kostet habe, der wisse, dass diese Zeitung bey weitem nicht so viel mehr kostet als andere Sachen, indem die Lebens-nothdurftigkeiten jetzt, 10, 15, ja einige 20 mal theurer sind als vor wenigen Jahren. Nur einer einzigen Sache die so nöthig ist als das liebe Brod, zu gedenken, näml. des Holzes, ein Klafter Hickory Holz kostet jetzt, eh es gesägt in Keller komt, 20 Pfund, u.s.w.

Wenige Leute verstehen was für Mühe der Drucker einer Deutschen Zeitung hat: Fast jede Zeile muss übersetzt werden. Viele sind auch schon dazu gewöhnt, dass man ihre Anzeigen nicht nur umsonst übersetzt, sondern sogar aufsetzt. Wer alles dieses, und noch mehr, vernünftig überlegt, hat wol keine Ursach sich über den Preis dieser Zeitung zu beschweren. So stehet auch ohnedem einem jeden frey, ob er sie halten will oder nicht.

Schliesslich ist noch zu erinnern, dass niemand erwarten muss er werde die Zeitung geschickt krigen ehe er beym Einschreiben das ganze Geld bezahlt hat. So müssen auch die Kundleute selbst unter sich ausmachen wie ihnen die Zeitungen sollen geschickt werden; darnach wird der Herausgeber sich pünktlich richten; und damit hat er seine Pflicht gethan. Dadurch wird dem unaufhörlichen verdriesslichen Klagen der Leute vorgebeugt: Warum krig ich meine Zeitung nicht?

Sobald eine hinlängliche Anzahl Personen sich haben einschreiben lassen, wird diese Zeitung wieder auf einen ganzen Bogen gedruckt werden.

Henrich Miller.

O wie ungern, ihr lieben Landsleute, handle ich so! aber die Zeiten erfodern es, und kein billiger Mann kan mirs verdenken. Was Paulus schon vorlängst gesagt hat, kan man jetzt gewiss mit grösstem Nachdruck sagen: Schickt euch in die Zeit; denn es ist böse Zeit. Fände nur auch seine Ermahnung statt: Einer trage des andern Last; die Erfüllung des Gesetzes Christi.[1] In the next number of his paper, Miller says: " Ich habe meiner Letzten Erinnerung noch beyzufügen, dass es am besten seyn wird, wenn die

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 886.

künftigen Zeitungs-halter sich für erst nur auf ein halb Jahr einschreiben lassen. Vielleicht ändern sich die schweren Zeiten." [1]

Miller now feels the weight of years and the many troubles through which he has passed especially during the period of the Revolution. In the number of April 21, 1779, No. 915, Miller intimates that the time for withdrawing from business is at hand:

Die Leser müssen keine gewisse Ausgabe dieser Zeitung künftig erwarten. Der Drucker ist, leider! ohne Hülfe!

In a following issue he says:

Der Drucker dieser Zeitung muss hiebevor gemeldeter Ursachen wegen selbige aufgeben. Seine resp. Kundleute werden ohne diese noch zwey zu gewarten haben; so dass das 920ste Stück sein letztes seyn wird.[2]

On May 26, 1779, Miller printed the last issue of his famous German newspaper, having disposed of his printing office to Messrs. Steiner and Cist, who issued the first number of their newspaper the Staatsregister, July 21, 1779. It is said that having no family Miller bequeathed his printing business to Melchoir Steiner who had been his apprentice.[3] In his last number, Miller takes an affectionate leave of his readers and many friends, and thus terminated the history of that German newspaper which for twenty years had championed the American cause, and which more than any other publication was responsible for the fact that the great number of Germans throughout the Colonies almost to a man espoused the cause of the Revolution. Its tone was ever positive. Its aim was ever constructive. Its history is its own spokesman. Miller's touching farewell in full is as follows:

[1] *Staatsbote*, No. 887.

[2] *Staatsbote*, No. 918. Wednesday, May 12, 1779.

[3] Thomas, 255.

1779, Mittwoch, d. 26 May. Dieses ist das letzte Stück von Henrich Millers Zeitung. Seinen Abschied werden die Leser am Ende derselben finden. . . .

Allerseits Hochgeehrte Herren, Freunde und Landsleute. Sie wissen, dass der Sabbath so alt ist wie die Schöpfung. Es heisst von dem Herrn unserm Gott selbst: Er ruhete am siebenten Tage von allen seinen Werken die Er machte. Die Felder hatten ihren Sabbath; die Thiere genossen ihn; er ist ganz besonders um des Menschen willen eingesetzt; und wird mit der Zeit die Sehnsucht aller geschaffenen Wesen. Nur der Hüter Israel schläfet und schlummert nicht.

Wenn heutiges tags ein Mann sein 60tes Jahr zurück gelegt hat, so hält man dafür sein Sabbath solte angehen, und er selbst nicht mehr arbeiten, sondern nur zusehen dass andere für ihn ihre Arbeit recht machen.

Ich bin nun, werthe Freunde, nicht weit von 80 Jahren, beynahe durch den Raub meiner Druckerey in meinem Beruf ruiniert ohne gehörige Hülf und Unterstützung: Was deucht Ihnen? Sie werden mirs gewiss nicht verdenken, dass ich mich nach meiner Sabbathruhe sehne, und zu dem End es nöthig erachte die Zeitung aufzugeben, als eine Arbeit die pünktlich auf den bestimmten Tag fertig seyn muss.

Die Abfertigung eines Staatsboten gehört für einen frischen hurtigen Mann. So lang ich ein solcher war, geehrte Landsleute, diente ich ihnen herzlich gern; hab' auch wirklich bey 50 Jahr fast immer mit Zeitungen zu thun gehabt, ehedem in der Schweiz und Deutschland; und als in dem letztern Kriege zwischen Frankreich und England einmal 14,000 Mann Hanöverischer und Hessischer Truppen den Sommer hindurch in England lagen, bediente ich, auf Ersuchen des Stabes ihre beyden Lager zweymal in der Woche mit einer Deutschen Zeitung.

Die Leute mögen Zeitungen ansehen wie sie wollen, ich habe sie immer für gemein nützlich gehalten, und die Aufsetzung und Ausgabe derselben für eine angenehme Beschäftigung eines Mannes von einem mittelmässigen Alter.

Hat meine geringe Zeitungsarbeit, geehrte und werthe Landsleute, Ihren Beyfall gehabt, wird es mir ein besonder Vergnügen seyn: ganz das Gegentheil vermuth ich nicht, sondern glaube es ist doch manchen damit gedient gewesen.

Ich habe gethan was ich konte; danke meinen Freunden und Gönnern für Ihre Ermunterung, und bitte mir Ihre fernere Gewogenheit aus bey erängender Gelegenheit.

Meine Treue zu diesem Lande ist, wie ich hoffe, genugsam bekannt; und was meine Achtung für die Deutsche Nation betrifft, so möcht' ich wünschen ein jeder Deutscher verstünde ihre Würdigkeit. Ich meines theils verharre dieses ganzen Landes doch vorzüglich der Deutschen.

treuergebener Freund und Diener,
H. Miller.[1]

Biography.

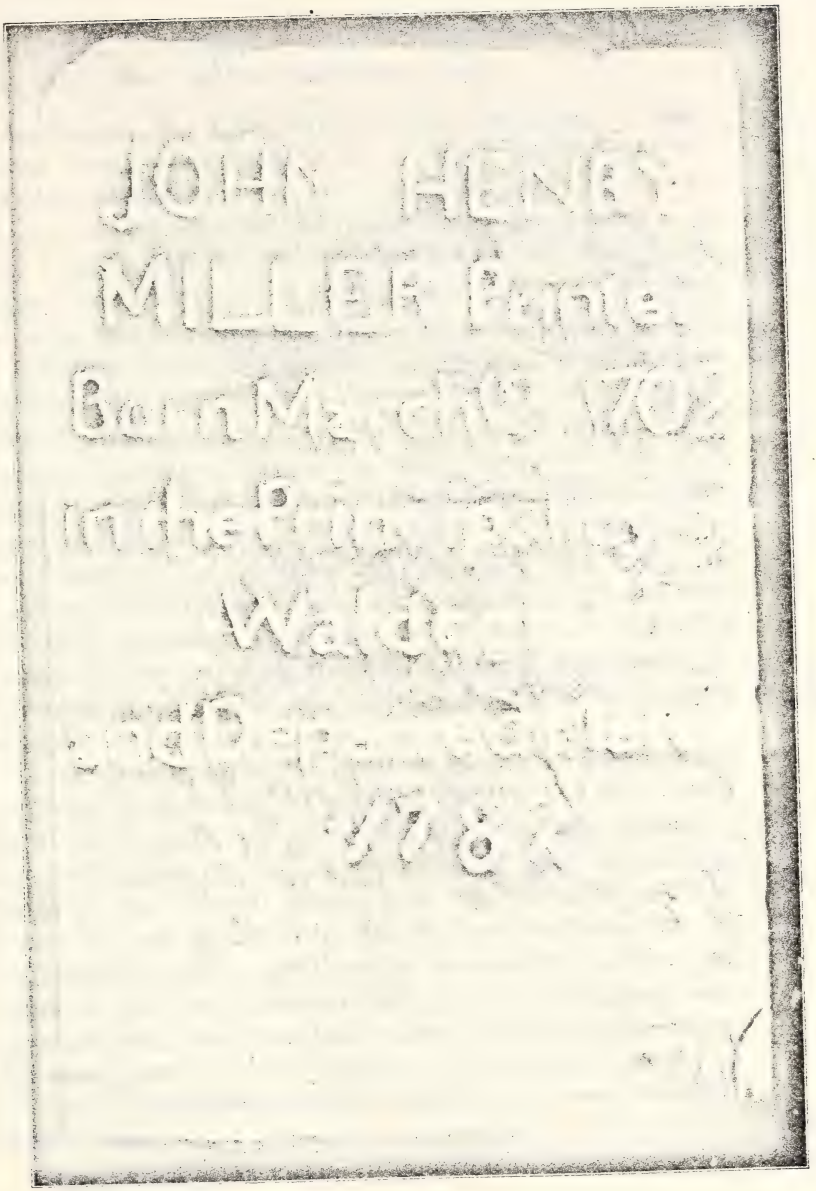
Having written an exhaustive biography of Miller[2] it may seem a waste of time and money to print another. And yet the circumstances make such a duplication permissible.

When in 1779 Miller retired after many years of usefulness, he sold the *Staatsbote* and his printing business to Messrs. Steiner and Cist. This firm published the *Philadelphiisches Staatsregister,* which did not live long, and later issued the *Philadelphische Correspondenz,* whose editors for some time were Drs. J. C. Kunze and J. H. C. Helmuth, Lutheran ministers of Philadelphia.

This latter paper, the *Philadelphische Correspondenz,* under date of " Mittwochs, den 17 April, 1782, No. 51," published a short biography of Miller soon after the news of his death reached Philadelphia. Coming as it undoubtedly does from the pen of Steiner, whom Miller had

[1] *Staatsbote,* No. 920.

[2] *German-American Annals,* 1916, page 118 ff.



TOMBSTONE IN THE MORAVIAN CEMETERY, BETHLEHEM, PA., MARKING THE GRAVE OF JOHN HENRY MILLER, REVOLUTIONARY PRINTER, PUBLISHER AND PATRIOT.

befriended, it breathes the spirit of gratitude and friendship that should be fostered in every age.

Am Sonntag, den 31sten März, starb zu Bethlehem, in Northampton caunty, Herr Henrich Miller, ein um das Publicum und besonders die Deutschen sehr wohl verdienter mann. Er war zu Rheden, im Waldeckischen, den 12ten März, 1702, geboren. Im Jahr 1715, zu ende seines 13ten jahrs, kam er nach Basil, in der Schweiz, zu Herrn Johann Ludwig Brandmiller, zu erlernung der edlen Buchdruckerkunst. Nach verflossenen lehrjahren reiste er 1721 nach Zürich, und im herbst nach Leipzig, und von da im folgenden jahre nach Altona. Von hier begab er sich 1725 nach London, woselbst er sich bis 1728 aufhielt, da er England verliess, und über Rotterdam sich nach Amsterdam begab. Im jahr 1729 reisete er wieder nach Altona, und nach einem dritthalbjährigen aufenthalb daselbst, 1732, nach der Schweiz, wo er in Basel, Genf und Zürich auf der druckerey arbeitete, bis er sich 1738 nach Hamburg, und 1739 nach Amsterdam, und von da in eben dem jahr über Rotterdam, Antwerpen und Brüssel nach Paris, in Frankreich, verfügte, woselbst er sich 13 monat aufhielt, und im November, 1740, von da über Calais und Dover nach London reiste.

In eben diesem jahre begab er sich von hier zu schiff nach America, langte im November hier in Philadelphia an, und nahm Arbeit bey Herrn Franklin. Im jahre 1742 kehrte er nach Europa zurück, und reisete von London über Holland nach Deutschland. Die jahre 1747 bis 1751 brachte er in England, Schottland und Irrland zu, und im jahr 1751 kam er zum zweytenmal hier in Philadelphia an, wo er eine Deutsche Buchdruckerey anlegte. Er reisete im jahr 1754 abermals nach Europa und richtete nach seiner rückkunft von Deutschland nach England 1756 zu London eine eigne presse auf, bis er 1760 mit dieser seiner druckerey im Junio nach Philadelphia zu schiffe ging, und am 12ten September daselbst ankam.

Von dieser zeit diente er dem Publico mit seiner druckerey allhier

sehr treu, bis er alters und schwächlichkeit wegen vor einigen jahren genötiget wurde, dieses ihm sonst angenehme geschäfte niederzulegen, und sich zur ruhe zu begeben nachdem sein vermögen und presse auch insonderheit zu der zeit, da der feind diese stadt inne gehabt, sehr mitgenommen worden, da er als ein eifriger vertheidiger der freyheiten seines landes bekannt war.

Er zog vor zwey jahren von hier nach Bethlehem, woselbst er nach einem fünftägigen krankenlager seine wallfahrt durch diese zeit, mit einer christlichen ergenheit in den willen Gottes, im glauben auf das verdienst Jesu Christi und in fröhlcher hoffnung des ewigen lebens, beschloss. Sein alter hat er gebracht auf 80 jahre und 19 tage.[1]

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[1] Information supplied by Prof. Carl F. Hausman, Ph.D., Germantown High School.

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ELMER E. S. JOHNSON, PH.D.

COLONEL CONRAD WEISER AS A YOUNG MAN.

FROM AN OIL PAINTING ON WOOD, FOR MANY YEARS IN THE WEISER FAMILY. LAST IN POSSESSION OF REV. C. Z. WEISER, D. D., DECEASED, AND BY HIM ASSERTED TO BE AUTHENTIC.

The Weiser Family

PREPARED BY AUTHORITY OF
THE PENNSYLVANIA-GERMAN SOCIETY

BY
HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG RICHARDS, LITT.D.

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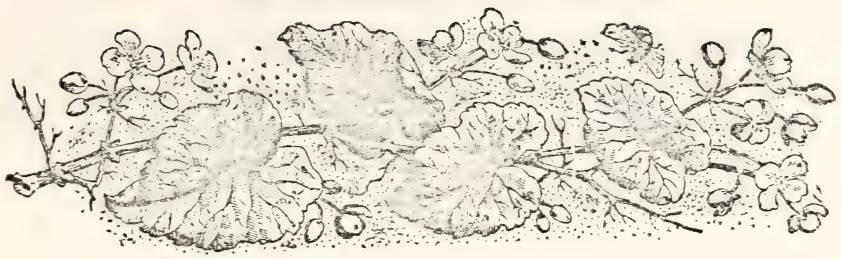


THE WEISER FAMILY.

Foreword.

ALTHOUGH the writer of these records has had considerable experience in the compilation of family genealogies he has found that of the Weiser family to be exceedingly difficult and complicated, mainly owing to the fact that Col. Conrad Weiser and his brother Christopher, as well as his half-brother, Frederick, lived in the same neighborhood of Pennsylvania. Many of the offspring of Conrad and Christopher, especially, were born near each other, baptized in the same churches, had the same, or similar, christian names, and were frequently of equal age, thus making proper classification far from easy, if not impossible.

Many persons, bearing the Weiser name, presume themselves to be descended from Colonel Conrad, but, in reality, have one of the other brothers for their ancestors. It is hard for them to realize this disappointing fact.

The following records have been compiled with the greatest care, after much research, correspondence and comparison. Lacking much, as they do, they are, undoubtedly, the most complete in existence to-day, and are believed to be accurate.

However, neither absolute accuracy nor completion is claimed for them, and they are now given to the public for the first time in the hope that such publicity may lead to greater future perfection.

H. M. M. RICHARDS.

THE WEISER FAMILY.

By Capt. H. M. M. Richards, Litt.D.

Introduction.

THE 200th anniversary of the Tulpehocken Settlement was celebrated in an exceedingly appropriate and excellent manner, at Womelsdorf, Berks County, Pa., from Thursday, June 28, to Sunday, July 1, 1923, inclusive.

On the evening of Founders' Day, June 29, the writer of this delivered an address at the grave of Conrad Weiser, before the very large audience there assembled, which was received with much favor. It has been suggested, by various persons, that this address should appear as an introduction to the detailed family records which follow. In compliance with requests thus made it is given herewith:

Our Country's Debt to Conrad Weiser.

It is but a few months ago that, in accordance with our annual custom, we celebrated, once more, the birthdays of two of our most beloved and most distinguished presidents —George Washington, the "Father of His Country," who wrested it from the tyranny of Great Britain and was so largely instrumental in making of it a free and independ-

ent nation, and the other, Abraham Lincoln, its saviour, who kept it from becoming disunited, and, thereby enabled it to grow into the mighty power for good which it now is.

It was my privilege at that time to make an address upon "The Life and Works of William Penn," the founder of our proud Commonwealth. In it I endeavored to prove that, without him and his beneficent laws, there would never have been the Pennsylvania which we know, and that, save for Pennsylvania, there could never have been a Declaration of Independence, there would have been no Revolutionary War, no United States of America, and no Washington nor Lincoln, such as we now revere, would have existed.

Standing, as I do, before this audience, at this place, and on this anniversary, and having as my subject "Our Country's Debt to Conrad Weiser," I do not know how I can more forcibly impress upon your minds the magnitude of this debt than by asserting that, had it not been for Conrad Weiser, our Pennsylvania could never have survived as such, our independence as a nation could then never have been attained, we would never have remained a united and powerful country with the willingness and ability to relieve and succor the down-trodden peoples of the earth, and to guide and aid, as we have, the nations of our entire world.

As crises arise and men are needed God produces such as He has ready and has been preparing for the occasion. So it was with Penn, with Washington, with Lincoln, and so, also, with Weiser. It makes none of them the less great for us to know that they have been thus chosen for the purpose, and that they have so well and faithfully performed the tasks alloted them.

So, if we would truly understand the greatness of Conrad Weiser, and truly realize the debt our country owes him, we cannot do better than to briefly trace God's purpose in our history, to see how nobly this man performed his task, and how well he was fitted for the part assigned him.

It was the loving desire of our Heavenly Father to make our America, separated by great oceans from the turmoils of an old and war-worn world, to be an asylum for the persecuted peoples of the earth, when, sooner or later, such an asylum would surely be needed.

When the Norsemen first discovered this continent in the year A.D. 1000, and even made settlements upon it which flourished for a while, their work came to naught because the time was not ready for the fruition of this plan.

But, when, five centuries later, Christopher Columbus rediscovered America; when printing by movable type was invented and information thereby rapidly disseminated amongst all classes of people, leading to the great Reformation of Luther, which was followed by the awful Thirty Years' War making of Germany almost a wilderness; when, following upon its heels, came the cruel French Invasion of 1693, with its utter devastation of the Palatinate, bringing pestilence and famine; when, as if that were not sufficient, occurred the terrible winter of 1709 when birds perished on the wing, beasts in their lairs, and mortals fell dead in the way, then the wretched Palatine survivors lost courage, and the Spring of 1709 found 32,000 Germans, who had abandoned their native land, washed, like a mighty wave, along the shores of England, with hearts set upon reaching what to them was the "Promised Land"—Pennsylvania. And why Pennsylvania? Be-

cause, as early as 1677 that great "Apostle of Peace," William Penn, had already preached his evangel in both Germany and Holland, and, when he had been granted his Charter of Proprietorship in 1681, he promptly published his "Brief Account of the Province of Pennsylvania," proposing easy purchase of lands and good terms for settlers, which, with sundry pamphlets of like tenor, were scattered broadcast throughout Germany by Benjamin Furly. Is it any wonder that the persecuted and harassed Palatines should have looked, with longing eyes, to a home in such an asylum.

It is not pertinent to this address to give any details of the so-called German Exodus of 1709. Sufficient to say, as is well known, that both Conrad Weiser and his father were of their number, the latter a leader; that circumstances beyond their control diverted many of them to the Province of New York where they suffered numerous hardships, and that it was not until the Spring of 1723 that a small band of their number were able to settle at Tulpehocken of our Berks County. They were not accompanied nor led by either Conrad or his father.

As a matter of historical interest, not generally known, it may be well to interject at this point the fact that the original intention of the elder Weiser, as a leader of the Palatines, was not the location at Tulpehocken. His plan was to secure land on the fertile Minisink low lands along the banks of the Upper Delaware, near the present town of Stroudsburg, where already a flourishing settlement, mainly of Dutch, existed, antedating any other settlement in Pennsylvania, and which was convenient of access by a well-defined road, and not far distant from their home at Schoharie.

To that end the elder Weiser, while in London, in 1723,

visited and interviewed the widow of William Penn and other members of his family, notably his son John. Success had almost crowned his efforts when they were frustrated by James Logan, the Provincial Secretary, who was loathe to dispose of these rich lands hoping for greatly increased value in the future.

The result of this disappointment was that German immigration from New York Province, and elsewhere, all tended towards the little nucleus already planted at Tulpehocken where the subject of our address came, with his family, in 1729, the father remaining in Schoharie.

The preparation of Conrad Weiser, for the great work assigned him by God, began when he was still a youth of seventeen years.

One day, about the close of November, 1713, there visited his family a chief of the Maquas, or Six Nations, named Quagnant, or Guinant, a friend of the father whom he had learned to know favorably while at Albany on his mission of negotiation for the Schoharie Valley lands.

Manifesting a fondness for the lad Conrad he requested permission to take him to his own people, to which the father assented, knowing him to be trustworthy. Here, he says, he suffered much from the cold in winter, and still more from the lack of food in the following spring, owing to the scarcity of provisions among the Indians. He was frequently obliged to secrete himself for fear of being murdered while they were intoxicated. He then remained with them eight months during which time he became familiar with their language and habits.

More than that, because of his father's second marriage in 1711, and the consequent harsh discipline to which he was subjected, his home life was made most unhappy, and so, practically forced to leave it, he lived with the Indians

during the better part of fifteen years, was adopted into the Mohawk tribe and increasingly familiarized himself with all pertaining to their speech and customs.

As one of his descendants I have always been interested in ascertaining the Indian name, or names, of my ancestor, with their meaning in English. To that end I have been in correspondence with one of the greatest authorities concerning the Six Nations, the Rev. Dr. Beauchamp, and have had the whole subject considered by the wisest living old men of the Mohawk tribe.

From them I have learned that his early Mohawk name was Ziguras, but the name is so old that the present wise men of the tribe are unable to give its meaning. His later Indian name, with which we are more familiar, was Taracha-wa-gon, and is of Onondago origin. It means "the one who holds the heavens," or "he who holds the reins (or lines)," indicative of power, strength, wisdom, and authority. This is what the Iroquois chief, Canassatego, called him in his speech to the Governor in 1742 when insulting reference was made to the Delawares, and Weiser himself wrote it Tha-rachia-wa-gon twice on different occasions.

Weiser's real life began in 1720 with his marriage. Of this event he speaks plainly, "In 1720, while my father was in England, I married my Anna Eve, and was given in marriage by the Reverend John Frederick Haeger, Reformed clergyman, on the 22d of November, in my father's house at Schoharie."

Who was Anna Eve? For a long time this was a mooted question. Aged members of the family, who had seen their children, some of whom had straight black hair and bronzed complexions, similar to the aborigines, were want to assert that she was a Mohawk Indian girl. It

was presumed that she had no family name, and that her husband had called her Eve after the mother of our human race.

It was a pretty romance, but, unfortunately, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, his son-in-law, shattered it when he wrote in the "Hallische Nachrichten" that, "Our young interpreter (Conrad Weiser) remained in Schohary; in 1720 he entered into the state of matrimony with a German Christian person of Evangelical parentage and begat two sons and two daughters."

Even then her family name remained in mystery until, in 1907, there was discovered, in Philadelphia, the will of Peter Feck, of Heidelberg Township, dated February 4, 1741–2, wherein it was shown, conclusively, that it was his daughter, Anna Eve, who married Conrad Weiser.

In the English translation of the German will, made by Weiser, the name is given as Peter Feck. The signature is Peter Feg.

Peter Feck was one of the original immigrants who came to New York with the Weisers, was sent, with them, to Queensbury, was apparently a member of the company of Captain John Conrad Weiser, Sr., in the British expedition of 1711, later removed, with the Weisers, to Schoharie, and, eventually, formed one of the party which took the long journey to their permanent home in Pennsylvania.

Prepared so thoroughly, under Providence, for the work which lay before him, even in 1721 Weiser took a conspicuous place in Provincial affairs, when, for some ten years, he stood between the Indians and English, as well as the English and Germans, in all matters of dispute, until, in 1729, he left New York Province and joined his fellow-

countrymen who had already preceded him to the Tulpehocken region.

Here, in 1731, his friend, the Indian chief Shikellimy, the vice-gerent, at Shamokin (now Sunbury) for the Six Nations over the Delawares, found him, prevailed on him to accompany him to Philadelphia where Governor Gordon learned to know and appreciate him, and, from the year 1732, when Washington was born, Conrad Weiser was the officially recognized Interpreter of Pennsylvania and Head of its Indian Bureau, so remaining until his death. He was constantly and actively engaged in the discharge of his duties. Many important treaties were arranged and ratified by him, and, through his wise and philanthropic policy, many bloody outbreaks were prevented. His entire record has ever been above taint and reproach.

Comparatively unimportant as may have been his work in New York Province yet our country owes Conrad Weiser a debt for it. Much more so for his aid to the Moravian Missionaries in their efforts to christianize the aborigines, and for the knowledge thereby obtained of their customs and language.

It was a noble work which these good men did under the original leadership of Count Zinzendorf, yet it was Weiser who made possible their efforts. He accompanied Spangenberg and Zeisberger on their journeys in 1738, as he did Zinzendorf in 1742. He taught them the Mohawk language, he was their shield, their propitiating herald; their frequent companion; his toils, dangers, and exposures were little less than theirs.

But these, after all, were preparatory to the main task for which God had set him aside, that of preserving our country to English domination, and making it the first step to the great historic events which have since followed,

a work which has placed not only our country but the entire world under a debt which is being so tardily acknowledged.

A great crisis was arising in the affairs of America in 1732 just when the man selected by God to avert it began to take part in the public affairs of Pennsylvania.

Stretched along a narrow fringe of the Atlantic Ocean were to be found the colonies under dominion of the British crown. Encircling them to the west was a continuous line of strong French forts and outposts, stretching from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico. It was the constant aim of the latter to become masters of the entire land, and they hoped to do so by gradually straightening their offensive lines until, figuratively speaking, they had pushed their opponents into the sea.

With such vast territory at stake, and with but a limited number of white troops available, the cooperation of the Indians became a necessity. Every nerve was stretched by both parties to that end. Whoever should succeed in gaining the red man as an ally was bound to be victorious.

There were two great aboriginal nations whose friendship and alliance were sought by both parties, every known means and artifice of the day being used for that purpose.

One of these was the Delaware tribe, to which may be added the Shawanese then located to the west in Ohio.

The other embraced the Iroquois, or Six Nations, comprising the Mohawk, Oneida, Onondago, Cayuga, and Seneca tribes, to which, in 1712, was added the Tuscaroras.

The old legend is that, in the distant past, the Leni-Lenape (original people), or Delawares, as they journeyed eastward from the far west were beset by a powerful hostile tribe on the Mississippi River.

To overcome their foes they willingly accepted the aid offered by the Mengwe, or Iroquois. This alliance continued until the end of their migration eastward, when, eventually, the Delawares settled in Pennsylvania while the Iroquois occupied the region along the Great Lakes.

In time hostilities broke out between the former friends when the Iroquois claim that they overcame the Delawares fairly in battle and made them their vassals. On the other hand the Delawares asserted that it was through a despicable artifice they consented to allow the Iroquois to become merely their protectors, and, to that end, donned the petticoat of a woman.

From that day, when the Delawares ascertained how they had been duped, there existed a bitter animosity between the two bodies, which nothing could heal.

The advent of Weiser upon the scene found the Delawares, then a weakened tribe, occupying his own Pennsylvania, with their friends, the Shawanese, largely in the western part, and the Six Nations, or Iroquois, constantly growing in strength, covering all that territory in New York which served as a barrier between the French in Canada and the English to the south.

To accomplish their aim the French were constantly intriguing with all the various Indian tribes to gain them over. Allied with the Iroquois it would seem as if nothing could prevent a successful invasion from the north. Having the Delawares with them they hoped to split the colonies in twain by a raid into Pennsylvania through the gateway of the Upper Susquehanna.

To bring their plans to naught it devolved upon the English to frustrate them.

There was no living being able to handle this intricate problem save Conrad Weiser. Knowing to the full the

strength of the Iroquois, amongst whom he had been brought up, and realizing as well the comparative weakness of the Delawares, amongst whom he lived, he unhesitatingly cast in the lot of the Province with the former, and threw over the latter. He was not blind to the fact that, in so doing, his beloved Province would be deluged with blood, its people, and his own neighbors massacred, their homes destroyed, their wives and little ones killed or carried into captivity, and the land filled with the cries of widows, orphans, and sufferers, and yet, beyond and above all that, he had a vision of victory which would sweep French dominion from North America, to be followed by a free and mighty nation which should shape the destiny and affairs of the entire world.

There were many steps to this end. For thirty years it was his aim to keep the savage neutral, and it was his wisdom alone which succeeded in so doing.

His first step was to induce the Province to recognize the supremacy of the Six Nations. With one foot on the Delawares he caressed the Iroquois and condemned the French. In a short time the Governor was persuaded to pursue the same policy.

The Penns had made it a rule to purchase honestly titles for all property acquired from the Indians. With the advent of the settlers at Tulpehocken, in 1723, on the border land, the Iroquois began to realize the value of the land, and demanded payment for the same, claiming that, as masters of the Delawares, it belonged to them, and that the latter had no right to sell without their consent. To retain their friendship such payment was made by the advice of Weiser.

In 1742 a conference was called for the purpose of remunerating the Six Nations for that portion of the land

purchased from them in 1736, which lay west of the Susquehanna River. The Delawares were not even invited to attend, but merely told they might be present at their own expense. Complaint was made to the Governor, by the Iroquois, that people were daily settling on the Juniata Valley lands and spoiling the hunting. He was asked to remove them. This he promised to do but called attention to the fact that a number of Delaware Indians above the source of the Lehigh River, on the Minisink lands, had refused to give peaceful possession of the territory secured by the "Walking Purchase." Then it was that, turning to the Delawares who were present, the Iroquois chief, Canassatego, scathingly accused them of dishonesty, gave them no opportunity to defend themselves, and ordered them to remove immediately. They sullenly withdrew to brood over this insult which was never forgotten.

Time prevents any extended reference to the manner in which Weiser succeeded in making peace between the Iroquois and Virginia and Maryland at the Lancaster Treaty of 1744, without which a war would have been started with that powerful nation which would have eventually embraced all the colonies.

So, for thirty years, there was a semblance of peace and neutrality, with the Delawares and Shawanese gradually drifting into the arms of the French, and the Six Nations becoming firmly anchored to the English through the wisdom and untiring efforts of Conrad Weiser. It was a loaded magazine to which was laid a dangerous fuze. The explosion came with the defeat of Braddock, in July, 1755, in his ill-fated and mismanaged expedition against Fort Duquesne, and, with it, there swarmed into eastern Pennsylvania marauding parties of savages, burning, kill-

ing, scalping as they went, and causing such sorrow and misery as, we trust, may never befall our beloved State again.

Having secured the friendship of the Six Nations our country is indebted to Conrad Weiser for his vigilance in preventing the hostile Delawares from penetrating the Blue Range, then the outskirt of settlement, into the lower counties. Had this occurred the progress of civilization would have been kept back for a quarter of a century at least, there would have been no Declaration of Independence, and we would have remained a mere appanage of either Great Britain or France.

With the opening of hostilities stockade forts were erected throughout the whole length of the Blue Mountains. A Pennsylvania Regiment was formed; Weiser was commissioned a Lieutenant-Colonel on October 31, 1755, and given command of the First Battalion, guarding all approaches and defenses between the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers. Even though small parties of the enemy crept through from time to time, doing much harm before they returned, yet these positions were never permanently forced by any hostile bodies of reasonable size, and all efforts to actually invade Pennsylvania were frustrated.

The French and Indian War did not end until 1759, but hostilities ceased in Pennsylvania by the end of 1757, and this is but another of the debts owing to Conrad Weiser by his country.

Through his wisdom the powerful Six Nations were secured as allies, and victory thereby assured the British cause. While this brought about the Delaware outbreak under the banner of France, with much suffering, yet the war had hardly begun when the far-seeing and experienced

Conrad Weiser saw the advantages to be gained by diplomatic efforts and peace overtures. Fortunately, his views were entirely in accord with those of the dominant Quaker element, whose principles were of peace and not of war, and who were entirely willing to give material sums of money to accomplish the desired result in this way, while they were most unwilling to contribute a farthing towards the necessary expenses of the war. The government, at once, fell heartily in accord with the project.

Taking advantage of the mastery claimed by the Six Nations over the Delawares, with the aid of Sir William Johnson, in New York, the Iroquois chiefs were prompted to send messengers to the Delawares and Shawanese reminding them that they were their vassals and asking why they had taken up arms against their friends, the English. Conferences were held by Weiser with Teedyuscung, the great Delaware chief, whose heart was with the English rather than with the French, his aid was secured, and, at last, a great gathering of representatives of both the Six Nations and the Delawares met in conference at Easton, lasting from July 21 to August 7, 1757, which ended most happily, and not only was peace practically assured, but the Delawares were so placated that they went away happy at the thought of a restored manly standing. Teedyuscung was especially honored and deserved it.

It only remained to secure the final consent of some of the extreme western tribes. To that end the active cooperation of the Moravian Missionary, Frederick Post, was secured, whose tireless labors, in the midst of the greatest difficulties and personal danger to himself, finally met with success. The alienation of the Indians from the French was completely effected, resulting in the destruc-

tion of Fort Duquesne and total abandonment of the hard-fought field by the enemy.

Worn out in arduous service of his country the great patriot, and noble man, Conrad Weiser, died July 13, 1760, after his work had been accomplished.

Just as with Washington and Lincoln he had his enemies and detractors. His wisdom in forming an Iroquois alliance brought about Delaware hostility and death, so even his own neighbors blamed him. His determination to do justice to the Indians so enraged the frontier men, who demanded a scalp bounty, that they threatened to kill him. Many of his former friends amongst the Indians turned from him when he accepted the Governor's commission as commander of the military forces along the Blue Mountains. The French had a reward for his scalp, and the woods were full of his enemies. Even, for a time, the Moravians looked with suspicion and distrust upon the old interpreter. Notwithstanding all that, during his prosperous, as well as during his declining hours, Weiser never shirked a revealed duty, nor departed from his conception of justice. He was of the Governor's party and served the interest of the Proprietors, yet, under no circumstances did he ever swerve from the right as it appeared to him. The Governor, as well as the Proprietors, took advice from him with what grace they could, knowing full well that this blunt-spoken man meant it all for the best.

And today we stand before his grave, marked by a plain and unpretentious stone, knowing that it is the last resting place of not only a great man, but also an honest one, to whom our country owes a debt far beyond that which it will ever pay or can pay.

To repeat the words inscribed on the humble tombstone

of his great son-in-law, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, we may also say of him

Who and what he was future generations will know without a monument of stone.

Introductory.

Coat of Arms.

THE arms borne by Jacob Weiser, Schuldheisz of Gross-Aspach, were blazoned as follows:

Per fesse, gules and argent, in chief a swan of the second, in base three roses of the first stalked and leaved vert.

Which rendered into modern English would read:

A shield divided in half horizontally, the upper half red, the lower silver. In the upper half a silver swan; in the lower half a cluster of three red roses with green leaves.

Family Data.

Col. Conrad Weiser, in his manuscript autobiography, speaking of the town of Gross-Aspach, a place of some note in the County of Backnang, Duchy of Wurtemburg, Germany, says:

In this place my ancestors, from time immemorial, were born and are buried—as well on my father's as on my mother's side.

Unfortunately, during the year 1693, the parsonage, with its records, and some two hundred homes, were laid in ashes by the French. Members of the family, to this day, live there.

His autobiography also contains this statement:

My great grandfather was Jacob Weiser, and my grandfather was, likewise Jacob Weiser.

The former he designates a "Schuldheisz," or chief

magistrate (Burgess) of a district. His grandfather, father, and Conrad himself, filled the same honorable office in their several days.

GENEALOGY.

1. Jacob Weiser, b. ab. 1590.

Chief magistrate of Gross-Aspach, County of Backnang, Duchy of Wurtemberg, Germany.

2. Jacob Weiser, b. ab. 1625.

Chief magistrate of Gross-Aspach, County of Backnang, Duchy of Wurtemburg, Germany.

3. John Conrad Weiser, b. 1660; d. 1746; m. Anna Magdalena Uebele, b. 1666, d. May 1, 1709.

In her mortuary notice it is said, "Anna Magdalena Weiser died in the forty-third year of her life—the mother of sixteen children. "She died in giving birth to the last child. Only twelve names are enrolled on the church records. The catalogue of surviving children, in 1710, runs: Catherine, Margaret, Magdalena, Sabina, Conrad, George Frederick, Chistopher Frederick, Barbara and John Frederick, so that seven of her children must have preceded her to the other shore. Her son, Conrad, then in his thirteenth year, tenderly says of her, "She was much beloved by her neighbors, and feared God. Her motto was 'Jesus Christ, for thee I live; for thee I die; living or dying I am thine.'"

John Conrad Weiser, like his ancestors, was born and reared in Gross-Aspach. He attained the honorable position of "Schuldheisz" and was Town Clerk. He bore a Coat-of-Arms, his escutcheon being that given herein.

Religious wars bore heavily on his part of Germany. In 1693 his town, with the rest of the Palatinate, was

cruelly devastated by the French. These aggressions were followed by pestilence and famine; then came the terrible winter of 1709 when birds perished on the wing, beasts in their lairs, and mortals fell dead in the way. The Spring of 1709 found 32,000 Germans, who had abandoned their native land, washed, like a mighty wave, along the shores of England.

On June 24, 1709, John Conrad, with eight children, moved away from Gross-Aspach, although in middle life. His eldest daughter remained behind with her husband, Conrad Boss, with whom she had two children. To them the father sold his property, for which they paid 75 guldens in cash, promising to pay the remaining 600 guldens in the future. This they could never do and the father forgave the debt. As the owner of the property worth 675 guldens (then a gold coin of value), a man of means and honorable position, it is not to be wondered that he became the head and leader of the 4,000 emigrants who left for New York at the invitation of the Mohawk Indian Chiefs then in London, who, out of compassion for their misery, offered them a part of their lands. About Christmas they embarked in ten ships and were fully six months in reaching their destination. The misery of this passage can hardly be imagined and surely not realized. They anchored at New York on June 13, 1710, when, instead of being transferred to the Indian lands, offered them and ready for them, they fell into the clutches of the avaricious and dishonorable Robert Hunter, Governor of New York, and Robert Livingston, a wealthy landlord of the Province, who, on various pretexts, diverted them to Livingston Manor, up the Hudson River, there to toil for him, with taskmasters to oversee them. Many and grievous

were the wrongs they suffered, until, in 1719, they determined to send Weiser, with two other delegates, to London to right their wrongs. After much hardship, and an absence of four years, they practically succeeded in their purpose, brought about the recall of Governor Hunter, and returned to their countrymen, with much difficulty, in 1723.

In June, July, 1711, an army of men from Connecticut, New Jersey and New York Palatine emigrants, with 600 Iroquois, assembled at Albany prepared to march on Montreal and cooperate with the British fleet at Boston. The total failure of the fleet caused the disbandment of the troops at Albany in August and September. John Conrad Weiser raised and commanded a company of the German troops from Queensbury in this expedition, in the regiment of either Col. Schuyler or Col. Ingoldsby. His Lieutenant was William George (Bancroft, pp. 239, 379, 381, etc.).

The colonists having learned, meanwhile, of the fair fields of Pennsylvania, and the freedom and justice there accorded their people, a party of them united, in the spring of 1723, and cut a road from Schoharie to the Susquehanna River, over which they carried their goods, then floated them down to the mouth of the Swatara, driving their cattle overland, thence came to Tulpehocken, in the present Berks County, Pennsylvania, and there settled, locating principally in the present Heidelberg Township.

Weiser did not pilot this party, as has been claimed, but remained, for the time, in New York. His older children had there married and settled; he himself, had married a second time in 1711. By her he had: John Frederick, Jacob and Rebecca. The former was born

Nov. 14, 1714, married in April, 1738, and died Sept. 2, 1769. He was the third, and youngest, child by his father's second wife. In 1744 he removed, with his family, from Schoharie, New York, to the Swatara. He there became connected with the Moravian congregation at Hebron, and resided near the present Lebanon, Penna. He lived with his wife (who was a widow when he married her) 31 years, 4 months, and had nine children, of whom five died before him, and four survived him, viz: two sons and two daughters. It is to be regretted that no further details of his family have been secured.

The second marriage of John Conrad, the father, was a source of unhappiness to the family. She was a German woman, of the emigrants resident in the Province of New York. She seems to have been not only unkind to his children herself, but to have been instrumental in getting the father to treat them with unusual severity. With her advent the children became separated and scattered over the Province. The only knowledge we have of them is that gleaned from the manuscript of young Conrad Weiser. He relates that two of his brothers, George Frederick, at the age of thirteen, and Christopher Frederick, "were bound out, in 1711, by the Governor of New York, with the consent of my father, to a gentleman on Long Island." The records show that the will of George Frederick, dated March 14, 1763, was probated June 7, 1764, at Smithtown, Long Island, that he had daughters, Prudence Bladesley and Rebecca Scudder, also a granddaughter, Sarah Scudder, and a son George.

Of another he says, "my youngest brother, John Frederick, died in about the sixth year of his life, during the month of December of the same year (1711), and was

buried at Livingston Manor 'in the country (bush)' as the people called it. His tomb was the first by the spot where the Reformed Church now stands." A sister became the wife of a Mr. Picket, whose son John was subsequently recommended, in 1750, by Conrad, to the Mohawks " as well suited to learn their language, and serve them after I should grow old." Christopher Frederick eventually settled at Tulpehocken, near his brother Conrad, and had many descendants.

In the year 1746 John Conrad felt a desire to once more see his children and grandchildren in Pennsylvania, and there spend his last days in peace among his kindred. With the assistance of Conrad he reached his son's home, but with much difficulty. He was very infirm and frail when he came and lived but a short time after when he fell asleep in death, surrounded by his weeping offspring. His remains are presumed to lie in the graveyard adjoining the Tulpehocken Church, but the tomb can no longer be distinguished among the many in that locality, if indeed, it be there.

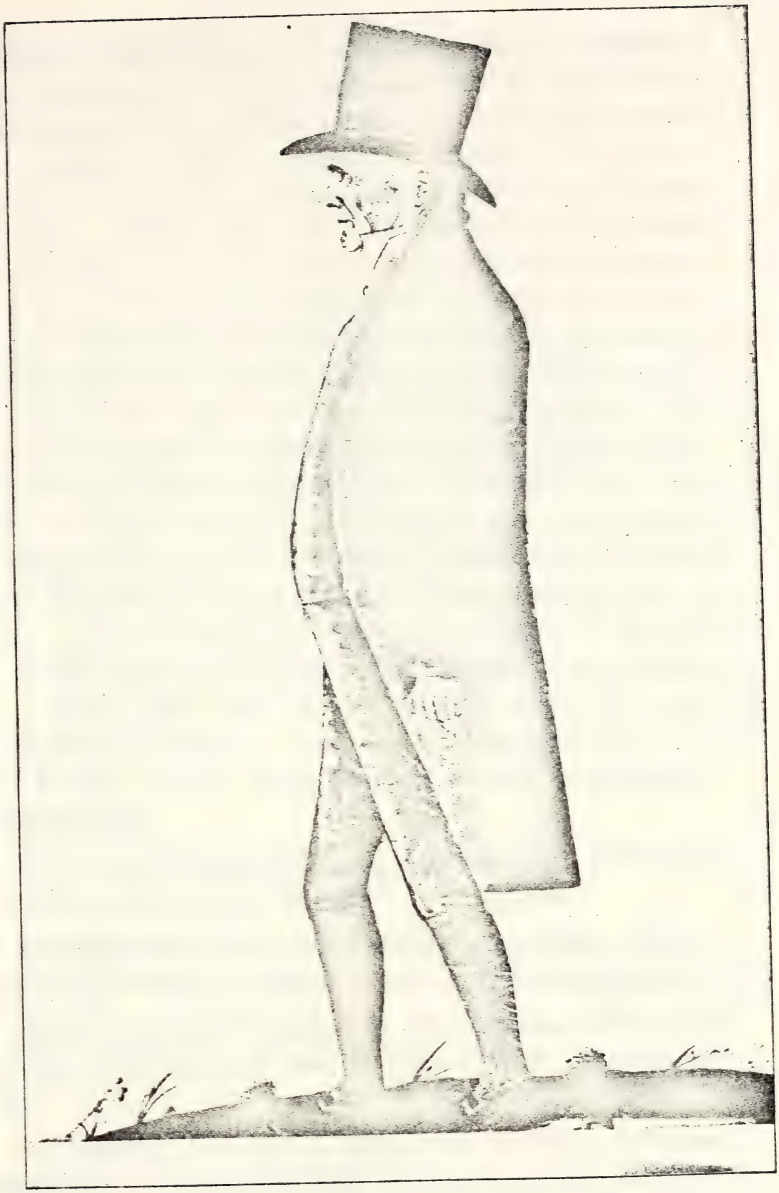
So ended, from an earthly standpoint, a fruitless life, sterling good man as he was, filled with toil and trouble, surrounded by danger and difficulty. Instead of peace and quiet, an increase of honors and property, he was doomed to unrest, with his countrymen the victim of knavery which prevented him from obtaining the honors he so richly deserved, and stripped him of the property he already possessed. He was forced to look above for what man below denied him.

4—1. John Conrad Weiser, b. Nov. 2, 1696; d. July 13, 1760; m. 1720, Anna Eve Feck.

His own manuscript states that he was born at Afstaedt, a small village in Herrenberg, a county contiguous to that of Backnang, Wurtemburg, Germany. He says, moreover, that he was baptized in the church of Kueppingen, the nearest church to Afstaedt, on the 12th day of the same month and year. On the baptismal record his name is given in full as John Conrad Weiser.

His history is that of his father until about the close of November, 1713, when a chief of the Maquas, or Six Nations, named Quagnant, or Guinant, a friend of his father, whom he had learned to know favorably during his visit to Albany on his mission of negotiation for Schoharie Valley, paid them a visit. Manifesting a fondness for the lad he requested permission to take him to his own people, to which the father consented, knowing him to be trustworthy. Here, he says, he suffered much from the cold in the winter, and still more from lack of food in the following spring because of the scarcity of provisions among the Indians. He was frequently obliged to secrete himself for fear of being murdered while they were intoxicated. He remained with them eight months during which time he became familiar with their language and habits.

In 1720 his life really begins with his marriage. Of this event he speaks plainly: "In 1720, while my father was in England, I married my Anna Eve, and was given in marriage by the Reverend John Frederick Haeger, Reformed clergyman, on the 22nd of November, in my father's house at Schoharie." As the family name of his wife was omitted, and because some of their children had



COLONEL CONRAD WEISER IN HIS ADVANCED AGE.

straight, black hair and bronzed complexions, similar to the aborigines, it has been surmised that his wife was an Indian girl of the Mohawk tribe, of which he, himself, had become an adopted member. While it is a pity to spoil such a romance yet the question is put to rest by the following extract from the old edition of "Hallische Nachrichten," page 976, where Henry Melchior Muhlenberg says, "Our young interpreter (Conrad Weiser) remained in Schohary; in 1720 he entered into the state of matrimony with a German christian person of Evangelical parentage and begat two sons and two daughters." On page 986 it is stated that the elder of these daughters married Henry Melchior Muhlenberg. Not long since it has been ascertained that her maiden name was Feck, or Feg, as shown by the will of her father, Peter Feck, of Heidelberg Township, then Lancaster County, dated Feb. 4, 1741–2, proved Feb. 20, 1748–9, recorded in Will Book I, p. 68, Register of Wills, Philadelphia, vault number 40. Peter Feck was of the original party that was stranded in London in 1709, and accompanied John Conrad Weiser to New York Province, thence emigrating to Pennsylvania.

Where was Conrad Weiser's wife buried? When was she born, and when did she die?

Alongside his grave there stands a sandstone marker, similar to his own, on which is cut the following words:

Dies ist Eva Anna, Ehegattin von Conrad Weiser, Geboren den 25 Jan., 1730, Gestorben den 27 Dec., 1778, ist Altworden 48 Jahr.

In English: This is Eva Anna, wife of Conrad Weiser, born Jan. 25, 1730, died Dec. 27, 1778. Aged 48 years.

In Conrad Weiser's Diary, owned by Howell Souders, of Tamaqua, Penna., he gives a full, though brief, account of his life, family, happenings, and a record of the birth of his various children.

At the close of the diary, though not a part of it, are written the following two sentences, but in a different hand-writing:

Mein Vater starb den 13 Juli, 1760.

In English: My father died on the 13th of July, 1760.

Mein Mutter ging aus der Zeit in die Ewigkeit den 10 ten Juni, 1781.

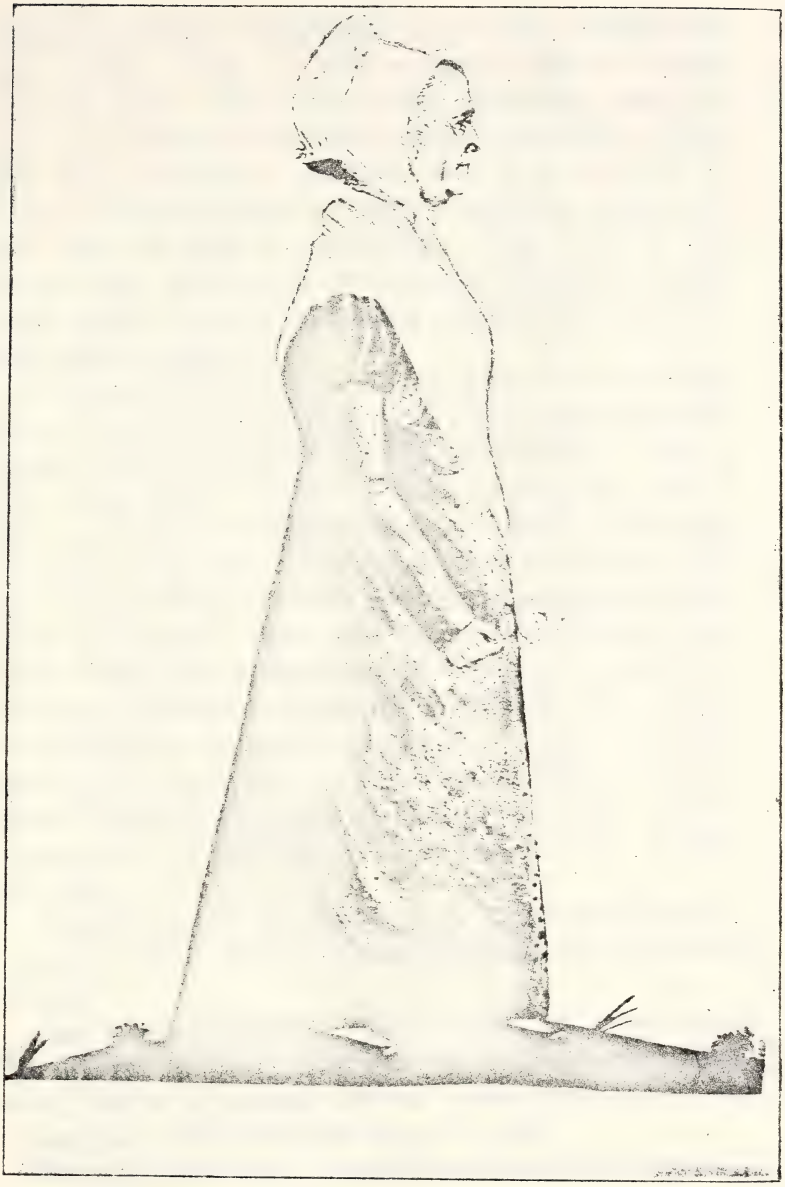
In English: My mother departed from time to eternity on the 10th of June, 1781.

In the possession of Mr. George S. Gregg, of Reading, Pa., son of General David McM. Gregg, who married Ellen Frances Sheaff, a descendant of Conrad Weiser through Frederick Augustus Conrad Muhlenberg, is a book containing also the autobiography of Conrad Weiser, his will, etc., with various addenda, one of which is the following:

Anno 1781 am 11 ten Juni fruhe um 2 uhr ist dies frau-mutter Anna Eve Weiserin, Wittwe, bein ihrem Sohn Peter im Wumelsdorf Town entschlafen un den 12 ten Juni ea. bei die alte Kirche begraben.

In English: In the year 1781, on the 11th of June, early at 2 o'clock, the " frau " mother, Anna Eve Weiser, widow, fell asleep at the home of her son, Peter, in Womelsdorf Town, and, on the 12th of June (of the above year—ea.) was buried near the old church.

The writers of these two extracts, relative to Anna Eve, are unknown. It seems to be apparent that they were



ANNA EVE FECK (FEG), WIFE OF COLONEL CONRAD WEISER.

different persons. Conjectures as to their identity are mere guesses. July 13, 1760, was the date of Conrad Weiser's death. The two extracts concerning Anna Eve agree as to dates and it would be but reasonable to infer that they pertained to his wife, that is, to the wife of Colonel Conrad Weiser, but the true historian, or genealogist, dare not jump to conclusions. The writer of this has not been ignorant of the extracts just given, but the whole subject presents a puzzling problem which, to him, still remains unsolved.

If Conrad Weiser's wife died on June 11, 1781, what is to be said about the Eve Anna whose tombstone now stands beside his grave? It distinctly states: "This is Eva Anna, wife of Conrad Weiser," giving her birth as Jan. 25, 1730, and death as Dec. 27, 1778. If the date 1730 be correct, which is disputed, then she was the wife of a Conrad Weiser of later generation, possibly the third from the Colonel. Now it so happens that I have a complete record of all those named Conrad, of any corresponding generation, descended from either the Colonel or his brother, Christopher Frederick, and not one of these married an Anna Eve, or Eve Anna. This is the list: John Conrad Weiser, son of Philip, son of the Colonel, 1749–1803, m. Barbara ——, b. Feb. 8, 1753; d. Dec. 15, 1825.

John Conrad Weiser, b. 1753; m. Elizabeth Klinger, b. 1756; d. 1820. He was son of Frederick, son of Colonel Conrad.

John Conrad Weiser, b. 1725; m. Jan. 29, 1749, Maria Margaretta Batdorf. He was son of Christopher Frederick, brother of Colonel Conrad. This John Conrad had a daughter Anna Eve, born Sept. 15, 1758.

But is the date 1730, on the present tombstone, correct?

For a long time the stone lay flat on the ground. It became broken in two pieces. It is a known fact that it was sent to a stone-cutter in Reading to have made clear the letters and dates which time and the elements had made quite indistinct. It is claimed that, in so doing, the original date of birth, 1700, was changed to 1730, and the age from 78 years to 48 years. This would have given a birth and death entirely in accord with what naturally would have been the age of the Colonel's wife. It would be altogether out of reason to suppose that the stone cutter would have made the glaring error of changing the date of death from June 11, 1781, to Dec. 27, 1778.

Now as to the son Peter, in whose house she is said to have died.

This Peter was evidently a resident of Womelsdorf. The only son of Colonel Conrad named Peter was born Feb. 27, 1730, and, in 1776 was a resident of Snyder County, Penna. He may have changed his residence to Womelsdorf later, but did he?

Philip Weiser, son of the Colonel, had a son Peter, b. Apr. 26, 1751, but he was a grandson of Anna Eve. He served in the Revolution, was severely wounded, and captured at Germantown.

Five of Colonel Weiser's children died in early infancy. It is said that some, if not all of them, were buried near his grave. Is it not natural to suppose that his wife should lie beside him and her children? If so, is, or is not, the stone now there that of his wife? If not, whose is it, and why should a mere relative, the widow of a grandchild and no blood relative, be so honored above all others, and who is the Conrad Weiser whose wife was named either Anna Eve or Eve Anna?

Diligent search has been made in the records of the

Berks County Court, at Reading, Pa., to see if the date of death of the Colonel's wife could be ascertained therefrom. She left no will; neither were letters testamentary granted upon her estate. Her husband left her property to be sold upon her death, but, with her consent, it was disposed of prior to 1769.

Every effort has been made, likewise, to ascertain dates from church records extant, but without avail.

The Rev. C. Z. Weiser, D.D., in his "Life of Conrad Weiser," page 40, states that the year 1781 (in brackets) was the date of death of the stepmother of the Colonel, his father's second wife whom he married in 1711.

I can find, nowhere, any authority for this statement, neither can it be made to fit in with known facts.

In 1711 the elder Weiser was a man fifty-one years old. Presuming that he married a woman much his junior in years, say thirty years old, she would have been one hundred years of age in 1781, which is altogether out of reason. If she had been a mere child of say twenty it would have made her age, in 1781, ninety years, likewise unreasonable.

More than that, when, as an old man, the elder Weiser made his way, in 1746, with much difficulty, to the home of his son Conrad, at Tulpehocken, there to die, surely some mention would have been made of his widow had she accompanied or survived him. Nor is it likely he would have come to Tulpehocken alone, leaving her at Schoharie. There is every reason to believe that she was then dead. If not, and still at Schoharie, she would not have been buried at Tulpehocken.

In the Souders' diary, written evidently by a child of the Colonel, it says, "my mother," but the second wife of

the elder Weiser would have been a step-grandmother, and not a mother.

In the Gregg diary it is stated that the mother (" frau " being merely an added word of respect), Anna Eve Weiser, widow, died at the home of her son Peter in 1781. The name of the elder Weiser's second wife was not Anna Eve, neither would Peter have been her son, but, instead, a step grandson.

The only suggestion thus far made, bearing upon the subject and entitled to credence, is that Anna Eve, the wife of Colonel Conrad, did die on June 11, 1781, and was then buried in the old church yard, but that later, probably much later, her body was reinterred beside that of her husband, at a time when the old tombstone, if there ever was one, had either become obliterated from exposure, or had disappeared, when the new inscription was recorded from memory, or other inadequate source, which would account for existing errors, and would still allow for the change of birth date, by the stone-cutter, from 1700 to 1730 as it now appears.

This suggestion is given for what it is worth. It is questionable as to whether the future will ever clear up the mystery.

In the meantime there stands the old stone in its present form. The facts which it states have become generally accepted. The errors of a year or two, if there be such, are of but little moment after all. What we want to know is not so much when she was born nor when she died, but that she was a true and faithful wife, the mother of brave men and good women, whose descendants have ever been of honor to her and their country, and who shared nobly, with her husband, the hardship, trials, and dangers of a frontier life, in the midst of a horrible Indian war,

and with her husband absent from her and his home for many weary days, weeks, and even months at a time.

She has gone to her heavenly reward, and, wherever her bones may be they truly rest in peace.

In 1721 Conrad was already taking a conspicious place in Provincial affairs, and was sent with a petition to the newly-arrived Governor Burnet. For some ten years he stood between the Indians and English, as well as the English and Germans, in all matters of dispute, until, in 1729, he left New York, removed to Pennsylvania, settled at Tulpehocken and built a substantial stone house outside of Womelsdorf, just mentioned. Here, in the year when Independence Hall was commenced, he located his permanent residence, and it was from the doors of this house his daughter Anna Maria, issued, on April 22, 1745, with Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, when they went to the Tulpehocken Lutheran parsonage to be united in the sacred bonds of matrimony by the pastor, Rev. Tobias Wagner.

The historic old home of Conrad Weiser was destroyed by fire on July 12, 1907, nothing remaining but the walls of heavy limestone masonry, even portions of which were somewhat warped by the heat.

The building was originally a one and one-half story stone structure, about 20 feet wide and 50 feet long, having a tile roof which was, later, replaced by shingles.

In the course of time the house was found too small for the needs of the large farm, a part of Weiser's original Heidelberg tract of 890 acres, so a much larger farm house, also of limestone, was erected close to the old building which was then used for temporary purposes, and, eventually as a summer house. It stood but twenty-five feet from the grave of Conrad Weiser.

On Oct. 2, 1915, the farm of 142 acres, then part of the estate of John F. P. Marshall, was sold by his administratrix to Roy Valentine, of Womelsdorf, a descendant of Conrad, at $100 the acre.

In 1731, his friend, the Indian chief Shekallamy, the vicegerent of the Six Nations in their dealings with the Delawares, found him in the wilds of Tulpehocken, and prevailed on him to accompany him to Philadelphia, where Governor Gordon learned to know and appreciate him. From the year 1732, when Washington was born, Conrad Weiser was the officially recognized Interpreter of Pennsylvania, and head of its Indian Bureau, so remaining until his death. He was constantly and actively engaged in the discharge of his duties. Many important treaties were arranged and ratified by him, and, through his wise and philanthropic policy, many bloody outbreaks were prevented. His entire record has ever been above taint and suspicion.

He became a naturalized subject of Great Britian in April, 1744.

In the year 1741 he was commissioned as a Justice of the Peace for Lancaster County, continuing in service for many years, and, after the erection of Berks County, 1752, filling it within that territory also. He was the first Judge of the Courts of Berks county, and President Judge from 1752 till his death in 1760.

When the time came that the French essayed to secure supremacy in this country over the English, all his great wisdom and knowledge were called into action. To cast in the lot of the latter with the Six Nations he well knew would arouse the enmity of the Delawares, and deluge his beloved Province with blood, yet, looking into the

future, he foresaw a mighty empire and did not hesitate to secure the friendship and cooperation of the stronger power. But, when hostilities actually began all his efforts were directed towards placating those who felt aggrieved, and, largely through him, peace became once more assured.

It was in the Fall of 1755 that the horrors of the French and Indian War fell upon the hapless settlers of Pennsylvania. Then, again, were all eyes turned to Conrad Weiser. On Oct. 31, 1755, he was commissioned a Lieut. Colonel by Governor Morris, and placed in command of the frontier between the Susquehanna and Delaware rivers. Forts were erected and garrisoned by his troops, the First Battalion of the Pennsylvania Regiment; bloodshed was a thing of daily occurrence; details for the protection of the people were constantly necessary; the supplies of his troops and his large correspondence must receive untiring attention; more treaties were to be arranged, and all was done as he only could have done it; but, with his advanced years, the strain was too great, and, after peace had become once more an accomplished fact, and his duty performed, the unassuming, but none the less great, hero and patriot went to his eternal rest and reward on July 13, 1760.

What was the Indian name of Conrad Weiser? The writer of this has had a very interesting correspondence with Col. Moulthrop, an adopted member of the Seneca tribe, also with the then venerable and learned Rev. Dr. W. M. Beauchamp, dean of American Archeologists, and through them with the Indians themselves. The Pennsylvania Archives give Weiser's Indian name as "Tarachawagon."

With regard to this Col. Moulthrop says, "the old, and

wise, men of the Mohawk tribe in Canada, after deliberation replied that 'it was an old word, and they did not recognize it in that form, but that if it had been "Tasacha-wa-gon" it would mean "he who holds the reins (or the lines)."'"

Dr. Beauchamp begins by saying that the name is not Mohawk but Onondago, being given to Weiser by the chiefs of that tribe, and that Col. Moulthrop should not have applied to the Mohawk wise men. After referring to the difficulty of translating this old word he narrates the following legend:

> Three Onondago warriors came home from the Erie war. They had encountered a demon in the form of a little dwarf, who had appeared to others and he sent a message which they delivered Feb. 24, 1656. My French Relation gives his name as "Taronhiaonagui," which, in translating years ago, I wrote "Taronhiaouagui," which I still think correct, *ou* being *w* in sound. The word is correctly defined "the one who holds the heavens." My rendering closely corresponds with Weiser's.

In the same letter Dr. Beauchamp, then ninety years old said, "Weiser had the earlier Mohawk name of Ziguras." Most unfortunately the learned Doctor was called to his eternal rest before it was possible to obtain from him the English meaning of this second name, and, to this time, none of the living Indians seem to have been able to render it.

Conrad Weiser was a sincere and earnest Christian. He was born and baptized a Lutheran, in the faith of his fathers. The Rev. Christopher Bockenmeyer, a Lutheran minister, baptized a number of his children. When he came to America and began his active life in the Province of Pennsylvania he found all religious matters in a very chaotic condition. Thousands of German emigrants had

arrived about the same period of time, and had scattered themselves throughout the country. While congregations were organized at once, or, at least, gatherings held for the worship of God, it was impossible to obtain duly accredited ministers of character and ability. As a natural result the settlers were often deceived by "wolves in sheep's clothing," or temporarily drawn from their mother church by the proselyting efforts of other denominations. Conrad Weiser's religious convictions were too deep to permit him to remain inactive in the absence of an established church of his own faith, so we find him assisting and associating himself with all apparently proper religious movements. It was largely he who made possible and efficient the missionary efforts of the Moravians, Spangenberg and Zeisberger, whom he accompanied in 1738 in their journeys, as he did Zinzendorf in 1742. He taught them the Mohawk language; he was their shield, their propitiating herald, their frequent companion; his toils, dangers and exposures were little less than theirs. In 1735 he was drawn into the religious enthusiasm of the Seventh Day Baptists at Ephrata and became a member of the Ephrata Community; he was known, in the cloisters, as Brother Enoch; his eldest son, Philip, and daughter, Madlina, both entered the celibate branches of the Ephrata institution, the former becoming Brother Theobald, while the latter died in the Sister House during her novitiate. He was also, more or less, identified with the Reformed denomination at Tulpehocken shortly after his arrival in 1729. In 1741 he severed his connection with the Ephrata Community, and, upon the advent of Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, who succeeded in bringing order out of the chaos previously existing, we find him once

more and permanently within the Lutheran fold, while he still continued to aid, pecuniarily and otherwise, the Reformed church then so closely identified with his own. He was instrumental in the erection of the Tulpehocken churches and of Trinity Lutheran Church, Reading, Pa. He composed a beautiful German hymn, or poem, on the occasion of the dedication of the latter edifice, on Trinity Sunday, June 17, 1753. It consisted of thirteen verses, of which a translation of the two first, by the late Thomas C. Zimmerman, L. H. D., of Reading, Pa., is here given:

Jehovah, Lord and Mighty One!
Hear Thou our childlike calls;
To all who stand before Thy face
Within these sacred walls,
Incline, dear Lord, Thy gracious ear,
Nor cast aside our fervent prayer,
For sake of Thy dear name.

The people of Thy convenant
Now consecrate this place;
Reveal, O Lord, from out the cloud
The splendors of Thy face,
That it may flood this house with light,
And banish evil from our sight,
For sake of Thy dear name.

. . . . . .

Conrad Weiser, in addition to his manifold other duties, was a business man. He acquired much property. At his death he was possessed of some 900 acres of land in Heidelberg township, Berks county; of lands beyond the Blue Mountains; and of valuable lots in the town of Reading. On one of these latter, N. E. corner of the present Fifth and Penn Streets, in 1751 he erected a fine

stone building, which was his dwelling in Reading and also used for store purposes, being the first store erected in that town. Through the efforts of the school children of Berks County, and under the auspices of the Historical Society of Berks County, a tablet was placed in the walls of the building occupying its site (then the Stichter Hardware Company) and dedicated Wednesday afternoon, October 30, 1907. When this building was, later, destroyed by fire the tablet was rescued and replaced in the walls of the building which was newly erected. It contains the following inscription:

"Posterity will not forget his services"—Washington

In memory of
Col. Conrad Weiser.

Pioneer, Soldier, Diplomat, Judge. As interpreter and Indian Agent he negotiated every treaty from 1732 until near the close of the French and Indian War.

The Weiser building, where he often met the Indians in conference, was erected by him on this site in 1751.

Born in Germany in 1696, arrived in Berks in 1729, died in 1760 near Womelsdorf, where his remains are buried.

His unswerving honesty set a shining example to future generations. —Under the auspices of the Historical Society of Berks County this tablet was erected in 1907 by the School children of the county.

In accordance with an unfortunate custom among some of the settlers, frequently unavoidable, he had his own private burying ground on his Tulpehocken property, close to his home, of which mention has already been made.

He was seized by a violent attack of colic as he was about leaving his Reading home, on Saturday, July 12, 1760, and died the following day about noon, at his Tulpehocken home. His body was laid to rest, in his private burial ground, on the 15th, by the Rev. John Nicholas Kurtz, the Lutheran pastor at Tupehocken, who preached a funeral discourse on the two-fold text from Genesis 15:15, and Psalm 84: 11–12. The grave, which is now in the orchard, has been kept sacred by the owner of the property. The original, rough-hewn sandstone still marks the spot, on which is cut the inscription:

Dies ist die Ruhe Staette des weyl, Ehren geachteten M. Conrad Weiser; deiselbige ist geboren 1696 den 2 November, in Afstaedt im Amt Herrenberg im Wittenberger Lande, und gestorben 1760, den 13 Julius, ist alt worden 63 jahr, 8 monat, und 13 tag.

The letter "M," before the name Conrad Weiser, merely stands for the German term "Mann," or, possibly, for Magistrate.

His grave was visited, at various times, by Indians who always respected his memory, and many pilgrimages have been made to it by those who, in after years, reaped the fruit of his labors and learned to appreciate his work, but, of all these, the most noteworthy was that of President George Washington on the morning of Nov. 14, 1793.

The Patriotic Order Sons of America (P. O. S. of A.) have erected a monument to his memory and honor (about 1910) which stands in a prominent place in front of the Public School House at Womelsdorf, Pa.

He was the father of fifteen children, eight of whom seem to have died in their minority. Four of them were born in New York: Philip, Frederick, Anna Maria and Madlina. His will mentions the following seven as sur-

viving him: Philip, Frederick, Peter, Samuel, Benjamin, Anna Maria and Margaret.

5—1. Philip Weiser, b. Schoharie, N. Y., Sept. 7, 1722; bap., by Rev. John Bernhard von Duehren (Lutheran); sponsors, Philip Brown and wife; d. March 27, 1761, will dated March 25, 1760, naming wife Sophia and uncle Christopher as executors; m., in the old church, Nov. 22, 1748, to Sophia Riem, dau. Peter Riem.

He was associated with his father in the events of the French and Indian War, and actively engaged in the stirring scenes of its beginning in the Fall of 1755; Lieutenant, 1756, in Capt. Geo. Reynold's Company, First Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment.

For a while he was identified with the Ephrata Community where he was known as Brother Theobald. Upon his father's death he inherited the homestead. (For further data as to homestead see under John Weiser, grandson of Christopher, brother of Col. Conrad.)

He lies buried in the graveyard of the original Zion's, or Reed's, Tulpehocken Church. The following is his epitaph:

Dieses ist die ruhe Statte des Weyland Ehrsamen Philip Weiser. Deiselbe ware gebohren im yahr 1722, den 7 September, und gestorben anno 1761 den 27 mertz, seines alters 38 yahr, 5 monat und 4 tag, und hatte in der ehe gelebet 12 yahr, 4 monat.

6—1. John Conrad Weiser, b. Aug. 30, 1749; d. Feb. 1, 1803; m. Barbara ——, b. Feb. 8, 1753, d. Dec. 15, 1825.

He was baptized Sept. 10, 1749, in Christ Tulpehocken Church, sponsors, Jno. Nicholas Kurtz and Eva Weiser.

He was 1st Lieut. Capt. Mich. Wolf's Co., Col. Patton's Battalion, Berks Co. Militia, 1776, on duty at South Amboy; Captain 4th Co., 6th Battalion, 1777, and Captain in 6th Battalion, 1778. In March, 1796, he located along the Susquehanna river at the present Selinsgrove, Snyder County. He lies buried a few rods east of Governor Simon Snyder at Selinsgrove. Letters of Administration were granted, Feb. 21, 1803, to Barbara and Benjamin.

7—1. Benjamin Weiser, m. Catharine ——.

8—1. Elizabeth Weiser, b. 1801; d. 1803; buried at Old Union Church, Womelsdorf, Pa.

8—2. Siegfried Weiser, b. Dec. 29, 1803; bap. Jan. 15, 1804; sponsors, Daniel Braun and Elizabeth.

8—3. Esther Weiser, b. Jan. 29, 1805; bap. Mar. 1805; sponsors, Philip Weber and Maria Elizabeth.

7—2. Frederick Weiser, b. Oct. 31, 1775; bap. Dec. 17, 1775; Christ Tulpehocken Church; sponsors, Johan Kobel and wife Catherine.

7—3. Frederick Weiser, b. Oct. 1776; bap. Oct. 20, 1776; sponsor, Anna Amelia Weiser.

7—4. Peter Weiser, b. May 11, 1779; bap. Apr. 5, 1779; sponsor, Benjamin Weiser.

7—5. Daniel Weiser, D.D., d. Dec. 9, 1875.

8—1. Clement Zwingli Weiser, D.D., b. Oct. 29, 1830; d. Mar. 1, 1898.

8—2. Emma H. Weiser, b. Feb. 13, 1832; m. May 17, 1853, Rev. George Frederick Miller, b. Apr. 27, 1824, d. Jan. 9, 1884.

9—1. Carl Rudolph Demme Miller, b. May 12, 1854; d. May 13, 1854.

9—2. Sarah Miller, b. Aug. 30, 1855; d. Sept. 30, 1855.

9—3. William Jacob Miller, b. Nov. 17, 1857; m. Sept. 8, 1886, Mary Eveline Townsend.

10—1. Lilian Bell Miller, b. Oct. 2, 1887.

10—2. Luther Deck Miller, b. June 14, 1890.

9—4. Caroline Boyer Miller, b. Apr. 11, 1860; m. Mar. 26, 1884, Herbert Bridle.

9—5. Bertha Helena Miller, b. Oct. 23, 1862; d. Aug. 1, 1863.

9—6. Maud Miller, b. Sept. 16, 1866; m. Oct. 19, 1893, Hiram Rule.

7—6. Sophia Weiser, m. John Schawber.

7—7. Hannah Phillippina Weiser, b. Mar. 7, 1782; bap. Mar. 29, 1782, Christ Tulpehocken Church; sponsor, Johann Pennetsch; m. Peter Rhoads.

8. Charles Rhoads, b. ab. 1799; still living 1881.

7—8. Mary Weiser, m. George Holstein.

(Mrs. Laura E. Shock of Selinsgrove is a descendant.)

7—9. Catharine Weiser, b. Feb. 27, 1789; bap. Mar. 22, 1789, Christ Tulpehocken Church; sponsors, Johan German and wife Catharine; m. —— Bassler.

7—10. Johannes Weiser, b. July 30, 1793; bap. Aug. 14, 1793, Christ Tulpehocken Church; sponsors, John K. —— and wife Susanna.

6—2. Peter Weiser, b. Apr. 26, 1751; bap. May 16, 1751; Christ Tulpehocken Church; sponsor, Peter Weiser, d. ab. Feb., 1785.

He was 3d Lieut. Capt. Nagles Co. (the First Defenders of the Revolution), in Col. Thompson's celebrated Rifle Battalion, Jan., 1776, then 2d Lieut., 1st Pennsylvania Continental Regiment, commissioned about July, 1776. The following will was written just prior to the

battle of Long Island, Aug. 12, 1776. He was severely wounded and captured at the battle of Germantown; expecting to die he added the codicil, Nov. 16, 1777, giving to Adolph Gillman, Market Street, Philadelphia, where he was nursed, a sum of money to cover expenses:

May God help me! my two brothers, Conrad and Jabez Weiser, are empowered, after my death, to dispose of my lawful paternal inheritance, as well as the property secured by my will and labors, in the following manner, excepting only that Benjamin Weiser, the oldest son of my brother Conrad, is to have one hundred pounds of Pennsylvania money as a token of my remembrance

I bequeath all of it to my two brothers, Conrad and Jabez Weiser. This (sum of) one hundred pounds he is to receive at the day of my death (von dem Tage meines Todes). But it must be invested (put at interest) for him and placed into responsible hands. The child or the children of whom I am called the father (zu denen ich vater genannt werde) shall each be paid five pounds Pennsylvania currency, but not before they have attained their majority.

I write this with my own hand and have it attested by witnesses. Done at Long Island, August 12, 1776

PETER WEISER, JR.

Proved February 23, 1785, upon testimony to his handwriting by Daniel Levan, Esq., and Jacob Bower, of Reading.

The following codicil is contained on the same paper in English:

I, Peter Weiser, of Heidelberg township, in the county of Berks, being very sick at the house of Adolph Gillman, in Market Street, Philadelphia, do hereby acknowledge to have had and received of the said Adolph Gillman several sums of money which he has paid to me, or for my use to others, for which he has his separate receipts; also my subsistence, attendance and nursing from the time of my coming to his house to this day; also that he has kindly

promised to take further good care of me, and in case it should please Almighty God to take me out of this world, that he will advance the expenses of a decent burial of my remains. And in return for his good offices, I will and desire that the executors of my last will shall, as soon as possibly it can be done, pay unto the said Adolph Gillman, his executors or administrators, all and every sum or sums of money, amounts and reckonings which the said Adolph Gillman now has or hereafter may have against me, to charge without any scruple, denial or unnecessary delay. And I do hereby charge all my lands, tenements, goods and chattels with the payment of his said debts and demands, and I will and desire that this writing be annexed as a codicil to my last will and testament."

In witness whereof I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 16th day of November, A.D., 1777."

Signed, sealed and delivered
in the presence of us PETER WEISER [SEAL]

John Godlieb Metzger.
L. Neiss.

Proved on the same day as the will. Jabez having renounced his right under the will, Conrad became the sole executor and settled up the estate.

6—3. Jabeth Weiser, b. July 3, 1753; bap. July 29, 1753; sponsors, Peter Riem and Eliz. Weiser; d. May 16, 1829; m. Maria Elizabeth Wengert, b. Sept. 18, 1754, d. Sept. 17, 1835.

Both are buried in the graveyard of the Old Union Church, Womelsdorf, Pa. His tombstone records the fact that Jabetz Weiser was blind the last years of his life, and says his wife, Marialis Weiser, was a born Wengert. He was a private in the Revolution.

7—1. John Philip Weiser, b. Sept. 3, 1776; bap. Oct. 20, 1776; sponsor, Lazar Wengert; d. May 28, 1827; m. Feb. 11, 1800, Molly Huber.

8—1. Catharine Elizabeth Weiser, b. Mar. 1, 1795.

8—2. Aaron Weiser, b. Aug. 6, 1806; m. July 7, 1833, Mary Ann Horn, b. Feb. 11, 1816, d. July 31, 1885.

9. A daughter still living 1901; m. 1st, —— Schaum, 2d. Morris Peters.

7—2. Maria Catharine Weiser, b. Nov. 10, 1777; bap. Feb. 1, 1778; sponsor, Engel Wengerth.

7—3. John Weiser, b. Nov. 30, 1779; bap. Dec., 1779; sponsors, John and Ann Emilie Weiser; m. Dec. 9, 1800, Catharine Fengels; died and buried Delaware, Ohio.

He is said to have been in the War of 1812 and brought home ill.

8—1. Sarah Weiser, b. 1802, d. 1890; m. Dec. 19, 1820, Michael Deppin; residence Toledo, Ill.

9—1. Catharine Deppin, m. —— Sankey.

9—2. Lucien Deppin.

9—3. Hiram Deppin.

9—4. John Deppin.

9—5. Samuel Deppin.

9—6. David Deppin.

9—7. Mary Deppin, m. —— Seamans.

9—8. Amanda Deppin, m. —— Aikin.

8—2. Catharine Weiser, b. May 5, 1804, d. 1884, m. —— Kreigbaum, residence, Scranton, Pa.

9—1. William S. Kreigbaum.

9—2. Ira D. Kreigbaum.

9—3. Henry L. Kreigbaum.

9—4. Sarah Kreigbaum.
9—5. Lou Kreigbaum.
9—6. a daughter.
8—3. Jabez Weiser, b. July 2, 1806; d. 1879; m. Mary Madary, d. 1878; residence, Ironton, Ohio.
9—1. Sarah Weiser, m. J. M. Pollard.
9—2. George Weiser, m. Rosanna Hanold.
9—3. Eliza Weiser, d. 1894; m. Amariah Sutton.
8—4. Lavina Weiser, m. Isaac Linder; residence, Richmond, Ohio.
9—1. Samuel Linder.
9—2. Walter Linder.
8—5. Samuel Weiser, m. Elizabeth Hartman; residence, Port Clinton, Pa., and Smith Centre, Kansas.
9—1. Elizabeth Weiser, m. —— Crawford.
9—2. Priscilla Weiser, b. 1846.
9—3. George Weiser, b. 1848.
9—4. Mary Weiser, b. 1850.
8—6. John Weiser, m. Nancy Faust; residence, Putnam Co., Ohio, and Kansas.
9—1. David Weiser.
9—2. Catharine Weiser.
9—3. Samuel Weiser.
8—7. Philip Weiser, b. 1814; d. 1886; m. Nov. 3, 1834, Catharine Zerbe Grieff, b. 1815, d. Mar. 26, 1884; residence, Orwigsburg, Pa., and Delphi, Ind.
9—1. Catharine Elizabeth Weiser, b. June 8, 1836; m. 1891, John Morehead.
9—2. John W. Weiser, b. Aug. 28, 1838; d. July, 1881; m. 1861, Lucy Calhoun.

Served in Civil War.

9—3. Priscilla Susanna Weiser, b. June 9, 1841; m. 1861, Samuel Stevens; d. Oct. 1911.

9—4. George Weiser, b. Sept. 16, 1843; d. 1843.

9—5. Sarah Ann Weiser, b. Feb. 8, 1845; m. 1st, George Hartley, 2d, Isaac Ward.

9—6. Philip Conrad Weiser, b. June 18, 1847; d. 1865. Served in Civil War.

9—7. Emma Rebecca Weiser, b. Feb. 7, 1849; d. Apr. 16, 1895; m. 1872, Samuel Beaner.

9—8. George Weiser, b. Feb. 19, 1851; m. Susan Eisling.

9—9. Adele Roselle Weiser, b. Apr. 10, 1853; d. July 1, 1890.

8—8. Priscilla Weiser, m., 1st, Hiram Wilcox, 2d —— Trout; residence, Putnam Co., Ohio.

9—1. Levi Wilcox.

9—2. William Trout.

8—9. Solomon Weiser, b. 1823; d. 1883; m. 1st, Esther Werlein, 2d, Sarah Markle.

In Civil War, Captain Co. I, 96th Regt. Residence, Delaware, Ohio.

9—1. Harriet Weiser, m. —— Hanold.

9—2. Nettie Weiser, m. —— Baneris.

9—3. Albert Weiser.

9—4. Mary Weiser, m. Prof. Edward Peiffer

9—5. Esther Weiser, m. A. D. Hance.

9—6. Ella Weiser, m. Kirkwood Donavin.

9—7. John Weiser, d. young.

7—4. Samuel Weiser, b. May 19, 1781; bap. June 17, 1781; sponsors, Jno. Jac. Wengert and wife Anna Maria.

8. Samuel Weiser.
8. Jacob Weiser.
8. Charles Weiser.
8. Daniel Weiser.
8. Catharine Weiser, m. —— Probst; residence, Lebanon, Pa.
8. Cassandra Weiser, m. —— Zeigler; residence, Philadelphia, Pa.
8. Margaret Weiser, m. Rev. C. Hoffmier.
9. Rev. T. F. Hoffmier; residence, Mt. Pleasant, Md.

7—5. Solomon Weiser, b. Nov. 6, 1783; bap. Nov. 20, 1783; sponsor, Valentine Wengert; m. June 21, 1807, Elizabeth Schafer.

8. John Jacob Weiser, b. Jan. 15, 1808.

7—6. Henry Solomon Weiser, b. Feb. 14, 1786; bap. Feb. 26, 1786; sponsors, Conrad Stout and wife, Eva Maria.

7—7. Eva Maria Elizabeth Weiser, b. June 16, 1788; m., 1st, 1808, Jacob Fasig, 2d, Henry Lewars.

8. Seville Elizabeth Fasig, b. Dec. 25, 1808; d. Aug. 14, 1904; m. Dec. 25, 1827, Daniel Wolff, by Rev. Waltz of Philadelphia.

She was educated in both English and German; took music lessons of Prof. Vile, and, at the age of 91, still delighted to sing, "Life let us cherish." Two years after her marriage ground was broken for the Wolff homestead, still one of the landmarks of Hamburg, Pa. The stones for the house were quarried at the Blue Mountain, and the laths hewn out of the green timbers and cut into shape in the cellar while the house was building. In this home she lived 67 years. Here her children were born, grew up and married.

Mrs. Wolff had twelve children, twenty-nine grandchildren and twelve great-grandchildren. There survived, in September, 1889, seven children, eighteen grandchildren and nine great-grandchildren.

She was a devoted member of St. John's Lutheran Church, and one of the organizers of the Sunday School. She died at the residence of her daughter, Mrs. Abbie L. Derr.

9. Frank A. Wolff; residence, Ashley, Ohio.
9. Abbie L. Wolff, m. —— Derr; residence, Hamburg, Pa.
9. Walter S. Wolff; residence, Ashland, Pa.
9. Oliver J. Wolff, alderman, Reading, Pa.
9. Seville D. Wolff, b. 1838; d. 1920, aged 82 years, 20 days; m. —— Fister.

Member of St. John's Lutheran Church, Hamburg, Pa. Rev. G. B. Druckenmiller, of St. John's Lutheran Church, and Rev. Walter R. Clarke, of the Reformed Church, officiated at the funeral. Interment in St. John's Cemetery, Undertaker Burkey in charge.

10. Daniel W. Fister.
In charge local force, P. & R. Ry. Co., Hamburg.
10. Thomas W. Fister.
Claim Agent, P. & R. Ry. Co., Philadelphia.
10. Charles W. Fister.
Investigator, P. & R. Ry. Co., Tamaqua, Pa.
10. Rufus W. Fister; residence, Philadelphia, Pa.
10. Bessie Fister, m. Wellington J. Confer; residence, Hamburg, Pa.

7—8. Maria Phillippina Weiser, b. Nov. 27, 1790; bap. Dec. 26, 1790; sponsors, Joh. German and wife Catharine; m. Raymond Gorman.

7—9. Sarah Weiser, b. Feb. 15, 1794; bap. Mar., 1794; sponsors Joh. Solladay and wife Susanna; d. Mar. 29, 1879; m. Benjamin Mengel.

8. Rebecca Mengel, b. Apr. 28, 1818; d. Apr. 21, 1885; m. Sept. 30, 1839, William Bower, M.D.; b. Nov. 6, 1817; d. Nov. 27, 1860.

9—1. Henry Jacob Bower, M.D., b. 1842.

9—2. Gibson Bower, M.D., b. Feb. 14, 1846; residence, Myerstown, Pa.

9—3. William George Bower, M.D., b. May 4, 1860.

7—10. Rebecca Weiser, b. Feb. 19, 1796; bap. July 3, 1796; d. May 19, 1847; m. George Eikelberger name changed later to Eikelberner); d. 1835 or 1836.

Why, or when, the name was changed to Eikelberner is not definitely known, but it is presumed to have been at the time she took up government land in Pulaski County, Indiana, when the mistake was made by the officials in recording same. Mr. George Eikelberner, a grandson living near Loganport, Indiana, has a pocketbook belonging to his grandfather in which the name is given as George Eikelberger. Upon the death of her husband she moved first to Delaware County, Ohio, and then to Pulaski County, Indiana. After she had been in Indiana for about two years she was obliged to return to Pennsylvania to settle up some estate matters; while away her family records, and other papers and things of family interest, were stolen. This information was given by Mrs. George Jabeth Weiser Eikelberner. All her children were born in Berks County, Pa.

8—1. Raymond Eikelberner, d. in Berks Co., Pa., when about twenty years old.

8—2. Mary Elvina Eikelberner, b. July 23, 1820; d. Apr. 23, 1898; m. 1839, Nathaniel Wyatt Phipps, b. Dec. 21, 1815, d. Sept. 2, 1859.

9—1. Ella Phipps, d. in infancy.

9—2. Rebecca Phipps, d. in infancy.

9—3. Charles Phipps (twin), b. July 13, 1846; d. Oct. 1, 1872.

9—3. Mila Phipps (twin), b. July 13, 1846; d. in infancy.

9—5. Nathaniel Wyatt Phipps, b. Feb. 28, 1848; m., 1st, Feb. 11, 1874, Jennie Justice.

10—1. Hubert Justice Phipps, b. early in 1876; m. Della Brandenberg.

9—5. Nathaniel Wyatt Phipps, m. 2d, Oct. 10, 1906, Ida May Gossage.

In 1863 he enlisted in Co. E, 29th Indiana Regiment, but was rejected on account of size. In 1865 he reenlisted in Co. C, 155th Indiana Volunteer Infantry, and saw service.

9—6. Damuris Phipps (a daughter), b. Oct. 21, 1851; d. Oct. 25, 1863.

9—7. Reuben Samuel Phipps, b. Sept. 11, 1854; m. Apr. 14, 1880, Anna Louise Koontz, b. June 5, 1859.

10—1. Dessie Merle Phipps, b. Dec. 24, 1880; residence, Grand Rapids, Michigan.

10—2. Effie Myrtle Phipps, b. Apr. 11, 1884; m. July, 1905, George T. Elderkin.

11—1. Harry Elderkin, b. Aug. 29, 1906.

11—2. Alice Louise Elderkin, b. Apr. 1, 1908.

11—3. Arthur James Elderkin, b. Oct. 3, 1912.

10—3. Lelia Mabel Phipps, b. Sept. 26, 1887; m. June 30, 1908, Raymond Sadler.

11—1. Ruth Evelyn Sadler, b. May 28, 1911.
10—4. Fannie Belle Phipps, b. Aug. 1, 1893.
9—8. George Phipps, b. Sept. 4, 1858, d. Mar. 16, 1860.
8—3. Daniel C. Eikelberner, b. Mar. 4, 1822; d. Oct. 27, 1894; m. 1st, Matilda ——, b. 1827, d. 1848; 2d, Malinda Taylor, b. 1827, d. 1867; 3rd, still living Jan., 1912.
9—1. Eliza Eikelberner, b. 1850 or 1851; m. William Demoss.
10—1. Eva Demoss.
10—2. Ollie Demoss.
10—3. Daisy Demoss, m. and had issue.
10—4. Florence Demoss.
9—2. Maria Eikelberner, b. Jan. 8, 1853; d. Nov. 21, 1893; m. Fred. Haschel; residence, Winamac, Indiana.
10—1. Daniel Haschel, m. —— Reinholt.
11—1. Child.
11—2. Child.
11—3. Child.
11—4. Child.
10—2. Ida Haschel, m. —— Fritz.
11—1. Child.
10—3. Alice Haschel, m. L. Precthel.
11—1. Maud Precthel.
10—4. Nellie Haschel, m., 1st, —— Meeks; 2d, —— Hoke.
11—1. Doris Hoke (a daughter).
10—5. Fred. Haschel, m. —— Hyland.
11—1. Child.
11—2. Child.

10—6. Edith Haschel, m. William Reinholt.
11—1. A daughter.
11—2. A daughter.
11—3. A daughter.
11—4. A daughter.
10—7. Dessie Haschel.
10—8. William Haschel, m. Ida Reinholt.
9—3. Emma Eikelberner, m. —— Wilson.
10—1. A child died.
10—2. A child died.
9—4. Rebecca Eikelberner, b. Aug., 1856; d. Aug. 28, 1856.
9—5. Mary Eikelberner, m. David Olds.
10—1. Grace Olds.
10—2. Nellie Olds.
9—6. Malinda Eikelberner, b. 1864; m. Jonas Werner.
10—1. Mary Werner.
10—2. Clarence Werner.
8—4. Uriah Mingle Eikelberner, b. June 12, 1825; d. May 15, 1872; m. Aug. 17, 1848, Elizabeth Corbet, b. Aug. 14, 1823; d. June 19, 1870.
9—1. Ruth Jane Eikelberner, b. May 7, 1849; d. Oct. 4, 1854.
9—2. Rebecca Elizabeth Eikelberner, b. Sept. 25, 1850; m. 187–, John Doyle.
10—1. Anna Doyle, b. Nov. 6, 1876; m. May 26, 1900, Charles Burge.
11—1. Floyd Burge, b. May 26, 1901.
9—3. Joseph Edwin Eikelberner, b. Mar. 23, 1853.
9—4. George Corbet Eikelberner, b. Sept. 20, 1855; m. May 29, 1889, Ella Conn.
10—1. Jean Elizabeth Eikelberner, b. Apr. 5, 1890.

10—2. Ellen Josephine Eikelberner, b. May 29, 1892; m. Oct. 18, 1911, LeRoy M. Bird.
10—3. George Conn Eikelberner, b. Apr. 20, 1902.
9—5. Mary Ann Eikelberner, b. Dec. 17, 1857; m. Mar. 21, 1880, Peter Jacob Stingly, b. Jan. 18, 1856.
10—1. Belva Elizabeth Stingly, b. Dec. 24, 1880; m. May 21, 1902, Guy Alonzo Fish, b. Mar. 2, 1878.
11—1. Marian Grace Fish, b. June 22, 1907.
10—2. Grace Myrtle Stingly, b. July 23, 1886.
9—6. Henry Uriah Eikelberner, b. Jan. 27, 1860.
9—7. William Morton Eikelberner, b. May 18, 1863; m. Nov. 3, 1887, Effa Thomas, b. May 21, 1868.
10—1. Emerson Ray Eikelberner, b. Oct. 20, 1888; m. Apr. 28, 1909, Clara Wilhelmina Miller, b. Apr. 27, 1891.
11—1. Katherine Hazel Eikelberner, b. Oct. 18, 1909.
11—2. William August Eikelberner, b. Feb. 4, 1911.
10—2. Fred. Sutton Eikelberner, b. Mar. 26, 1893.
10—3. William Hubert Eikelberner, b. Feb. 8, 1895.
10—4. Irene Hazel Eikelberner, b. June 4, 1900.
9—8. Boyd Daleno Eikelberner, b. Mar. 15, 1868; m. Mar. 12, 1889, Minnie Carney.
10—1. Mildred Eikelberner, b. Jan. 29, 1890.
10—2. Russell Eikelberner, b. Jan. 6, 1892.
8—5. Rebecca Weiser Eikelberner, m. Sylvester Conkling.
9—1. Theodore Conkling.
9—2. Frank Conkling.
9—3. Florence Conkling.
9—4. George Conkling; residence, British Columbia.
8—6. George Jabeth Weiser Eikelberner, d. May 31, 1885; m. Dec. (3 or 22) 1871, Georgiana Lightner.

He was Sergeant, Co. B, 47th Regt. Illinois Volunteer Infantry, Civil War, and Sergeant, Co. C, 155th Regt. Indiana Volunteer Infantry.

9—1. Nellie H. Eikelberner, b. Nov. 3, 1872; m. July 15, 1903, Frank T. Henke, by Rev. E. Yates Hill.

9—2. Alice Rebecca Eikelberner, b. May 11, 1874; m. Oct. 26, 1898, Walter R. Amoss, by Rev. Norris.

10—1. Helen Elizabeth Amoss, b. June 20, 1901.

10—2. Harold William Amoss, b. July 14, 1903.

9—3. Ada E. Eikelberner, b. June 26, 1876; d. Dec. 22, 1879.

9—4. Florence E. Eikelberner, b. Sept. 9, 1879; m. Apr. 26, 1904, John Grant, by Rev. Wilcox.

9—5. Edith Eikelberner, b. Apr. 20, 1882; d. Mar. 17, 1892.

8—7. Eliza A. Eikelberner, b. Feb. 27, 1837; d. Apr. 9, 1875; m. Oct. 28, 1858, Jonathan Farquhar.

9—1. George T. Farquhar, b. July 11, 1863; m. May 21, 1884, Emma I. Slemmer.

9—2. Emma Farquhar, b. Sept. 2, 1864; d. Mar. 11, 1865.

9—3. Edwin Farquhar, b. Nov. 19, 1866; d. Oct. 2, 1876.

9—4. Walter Farquhar, b. Nov. 9, 1868; m. Mar. 18, 1893, Florence Taylor.

10—1. Pauline Farquhar.

7. Willoughby Weiser.

7. Raymond Weiser.

7. Rueben Weiser.

6—4. Philip Weiser.

He may not be son of Philip Weiser, 5—1, but seems to be. Tombstone of Philip Weiser, 5—1, says he had

three sons—Conrad, Peter and Jabeth, and one daughter who died.

7—1. Maria Margaretta Weiser, b. June 18, 1776; bap. June 7, 1787, sponsors, Jabetz Weiser and wife Maria Elizabeth.

7—2. Benjamin Weiser, b. May 18, 1778; bap. June 7, 1787, sponsors Conrad Weiser and wife.

7—3. Peter Weiser, b. Oct. 3, 1781; bap. June 7, 1787, sponsor Catharine Weiser (widow).

7—4. John Jacob Weiser, b. Mar. 22, 1783; bap. June 7, 1787, sponsors, John Jacob Starck and his wife.

5—2. Anna Madlina Weiser, b. Jan. 13, 1725; d. Mar. 16, 1742; bap. by Rev. John Jacob Oehl, Reformed, sponsors, Christian Bouch, Jr., and Barbara Weiser (sister). She died in the Ephrata Cloisters during her novitiate.

5—3. Anna Maria Weiser, m. Henry Melchior Muhlenberg.

☞For a full record of them and their descendants see the "Descendants of Henry Melchior Muhlenburg," published in vol. x, 1900, of THE PENNSYLVANIA GERMAN SOCIETY.

5—4. Frederick Weiser, b. Dec. 24, 1728; bap. by Rev. John Bernhart von Duehren (Lutheran), sponsors, Nicklas Feg (Fecht) and wife. Will written 1773 (about Oct. 15), probated Dec. 9, 1773; m. Dec. 3, 1751, Amelia Zoeller, in the Old Church.

He was born at Schoharie, New York, and prominently identified with his father in the early events of the French and Indian War. In 1762, after his brother Philip's death, he became the owner of the homestead and about

450 acres of land. Upon his death Daniel Levan bought the farm, in 1791, but soon sold it to Jacob Weiser, one of the sons of Christopher Frederick, brother of Colonel Conrad, thence to Jacob's son John, who see.

6—1. John Conrad Weiser, b. Apr. 15, 1753; bap. Apr. 23, 1753, Christ Tulpehocken Church, sponsors, Peter Weiser and Conrad Weiser's wife; m. Elizabeth Klinger, b. May 10, 1756; d. May 12, 1820.

It is likely he did not serve in the Revolutionary War. The John Conrad who did serve was most probably the son of Philip 5—1, son of Colonel Conrad.

7—1. Frederick Weiser.

7—2. Catharine Weiser.

7—3. Hannah Weiser, b. Dec. 22, 1780; bap. Dec. 24, 1780, Christ Tulpehocken Church, sponsor, Hannah Weiser, m. John Fisher.

7—4. Eva Weiser, b. Nov. 7, 1782; bap. Nov. 12, 1782, Christ Tulpehocken Church, sponsors, Daniel Wummelsdorf and wife Eva.

7—5. Jacob Weiser, m. 1st, Elizabeth ——.

Will made Apr. 13, 1845.

8—1. Eva Elizabeth Weiser, m. —— Hoffman.

7—5. Jacob Weiser, m. 2nd.

8—2. John Weiser, d. Uniontown, ab. 1906, no issue.

7—6. John Philip Weiser, b. May 13, 1787, Heidelberg Township, Berks County, Pa.; bap. May 18, 1787, Christ Tulpehocken Church, sponsors, Philip Klingler and wife Anna Eve; d. Nov. 16, 1863; m. Elizabeth Catharine Melich, b. Aug. 24, 1788; d. Mar. 31, 1852, dau. David Melich.

8. Catharine Weiser, b. July 28, 1821; Lower Augusta Township, Northumberland County, Pa.; d. May 12, 1885; m. June 2, 1842, Henry Fasold.
9. Catharine Louise Fasold, b. Apr. 20, 1848, Penn Creek, near Sunbury, Pa.; m. July 11, 1872, Prof. E. F. Bartholomew, Vice President, Augustana College, Rock Island, Ill., Ph.D., D.D., L.H.D.
10. Netta Cordelia Bartholomew, b. Apr. 13, 1873; Clark City, Mo.; m. June 16, 1897, K. T. Anderson; residence, Rock Island, Ill.

7—7. Salome Weiser, b. Aug. 3, 1789; bap. Sept. 6, 1789, Christ Tulpehocken Church, sponsor, Salome Weiser.

7—8. Elizabeth Weiser.

7—9. Sarah Weiser.

6—2. Eve Weiser, m. Jan. 31, 1774, Daniel Womelsdorf, St. James Church, Lancaster, Pa.

6—3. John Weiser, confirmed 1774, age 17, m. (probably) Popelina Michal.

6—4. Peter Weiser, b. Feb. 7, 1760; d. Mar. 9, 1829; m. Elizabeth —— b. July 15, 1763; d. Aug. 17, 1829 (vide tombstones at Fisher's Ferry).

7—1. Catharine Weiser, b. Jan. 2, 1788; m. —— Hart.

7—2. Samuel Weiser, b. Jan. 28, 1790.

7—3. Col. George Weiser, b. Dec. 29, 1792; d. May 15, 1877; m. Barbara Oswald, b. Dec. 31, 1798; d. Oct. 3, 1872; bap. Feb. 3, 1799.

Barbara Oswald's father died while she was a small child and she went to live with a Capt. Richards who lived on Gay Street and had a company of artillery in Fort McHenry when the British attacked Baltimore. She was twelve years old and remembered the battle very well.

Capt. Richards sent his family out of the city to a country place on an elevation. She could hear the roar of the cannon, and, at night, see the flash of the guns, also the trail of fire as the bombs flew through the air. The fort sank some of the British ships in the fight, and after it was all over and the British had gone, Capt. Richards sent a large carriage for his family and took them to Fort McHenry where she remembered seeing the dead British soldiers and sailors laying on the shore after they went to the river, and especially of seeing officers with gold epaulettes and swords on them as they lay in the river, and a bass drummer had a strap fast to his drum sticks and to his wrists. She remembered how they looked on the water.

Her mother married, a second time, to Jacob Oberdorff, and they kept a hotel in the old stone house below the dam at Sunbury, Pa.

She had a brother David Oswald, b. Dec. 29, 1796; bap. Feb. 5, 1797; also two sisters: Mary Oswald; m. William Brown (Aunt Pollie), Catharine (Katie) Oswald, who was a mute and was drowned at the time they were building the dam, when their canoe struck a rock and they were thrown out. She had on kid gloves and could not hold fast to the canoe.

Mrs. Brown had children, of whom was the oldest son, David, and a daughter, Catharine.

8—1. Angelina Weiser, b. July 19, 1821; m. John Smick.
8—2. Mary Weiser, b. Jan. 17, 1823.
8—3. George Washington Weiser, b. Feb. 22, 1825.
8—4. John Weiser, b. Jan. 17, 1827.
8—5. Sarah Elizabeth Weiser, b. Oct. 17, 1828.
8—6. Samuel Young Weiser, b. Jan. 19, 1831.
8—7. Peter Weiser, b. Aug. 10, 1833.

8—8. Jacob Weiser, b. Mar. 18, 1836.
8—9. Catharine Louisa Weiser, b. July 15, 1838; m. William Henry Musselman of Harrisburg, Pa.
9. Katie Musselman, m. I. G. Brancher, residence, Altoona, Pa.
8—10. William Henry Weiser, b. Mar. 13, 1844.
8—11. Margaret Weiser, b. Mar. 20, 1848. All the above children of Col. George Weiser were born in Sunbury, Pa., and nearly all were baptized by Rev. J. P. Shindel.
7—4. Margaret Weiser, b. Apr. 13, 1795, d. Nov. 13, 1809, aged 14 years, 7 mo.
7—5. Jacob Weiser, b. Aug. 11, 1797; d. Nov. 11, 1822, aged 25 years, 3 mo.
7—6. Peter Weiser, b. Feb. 24, 1800.
7—7. John Weiser, b. Oct. 19, 1802.
7—8. Sarah Weiser, b. Apr. 25, 1803; d. Aug. 9, 1807, aged 4 years, 3 mo., 15 days.

The records of the children of Peter and Elizabeth Weiser were copied from the old bible of Col. George Weiser.

6—5. Catharine Weiser, b. Apr. 10, 1760; d. ab. 1840; m. Nov. 28, 1780, John Jacob Kehl, b. Sept. 15, 1756; d. Apr. 1, 1836, son of Michael Kehl.
7—1. Michael Kehl, b. Nov. 10, 1781; d. Oct. 19, 1850; m. Mary Bierly.
8—1. Jacob Kehl, m. Elizabeth Moyer.
8—2. John Kehl, m. Julia Greninger.
8—3. Adam Kehl, m. Sarah Moyer.
8—4. David Kehl, m. Hannah Gramley.
8—5. Frank Kehl.
8—6. Thomas Kehl, m. —— Kiplinger, Illinois.

8—7. Leah Kehl, m. Henry Neff.
8—8. Catherine Kehl, m. Michael Bower.
8—9. Rebecca Kehl, m. George Radabach.
8—10. Mary Kehl, m. Michael Shrechengast.
8—12. Michael Kehl, m. Susan Ketner.
8—13. Joseph Kehl, m. Elizabeth Sheets; 2'd, —— Stahl.
7—2. Catherine Kehl, b. Apr. 13, 1784; m. —— Snyder; lived at Sunbury, Pa.; no further record.
7—3. Salome Kehl, b. Jan. 14, 1787; d. Dec. 8, 1863; m. Nov. 28, 1811, John George Brungart; b. July 20, 1788; d. Dec. 21, 1877.

John George Brungart (commonly known as George) was born in Manheim, York County, Pa., and moved to Centre County, Pa., in 1802. He was married, April 9, 1911, to Salome Kehl.

He was a farmer, also an extensive land owner, and was one of the substantial citizens of his time. In 1820 he built a tannery on his farm, which was superintended by Jacob Steffe, also from York County. The leather he took to Philadelphia by team, bringing back goods for the merchants, the trip occupying three weeks.

He never learned the trade, but was a most skilled mechanic and spent most of his time in a shop on his farm where he made tools and implements of various kinds. He made a plow which was an improvement over the clumsy ones then in use, and which became well known. It was the one alluded to in the old saying common in Brush Valley that "No man was much unless he owned a long-barrelled shotgun, a red Wamus, and a Brungart Plow."

He was a Democrat in politics, a member of the Lutheran Church, in which he held an influential place.

Tall and slender in person, he possessed much vitality and lived to see his ninetieth year. Both he and his wife are buried at Rebersburg, Pa. (Centre Co.).

His descendants are many and are useful and influential citizens.

Lewis Erhard is a minister in the Presbyterian Church.

Thomas G. Erhard was a successful school teacher.

Amos B. Erhard was a minister in the Lutheran Church.

Fred Erhard Gutelius is a dentist located in Millheim, Pa.

Edwin M. Brungart now a teacher in Susquehanna University.

Cyrus Brungart, formerly Sheriff of Centre County, now a Justice of the Peace, located at Centre Hall, Pa.

M. Claude Haines, a successful merchant of Rebersburg, Pa.

Vera C. Brungart now in the U. S. Treasury Department.

Jasper R. Brungart, formerly a merchant, now President of the Rebersburg National Bank.

George S. Frank, a physician located in Millheim, Pa.

Curtis M. Bierly, Cashier of the Rebersburg National Bank.

8—1. Catherine Brungart, b. Jan. 20, 1812; d. May 30, 1857; m. Jacob Erhard, b. June 19, 1804; d. Sept. 19, 1858.

9—1. William Erhard, d. ——; m. 1st, Mary Bickel, d. ——.

10—1. Agnes Erhard, m. William Coldren.

11—1. John I. Coldren, m. Mayme Pothes.

12—1. George W. Coldren.

12—2. Agnes Coldren.
12—3. Inadora P. Coldren.
12—4. Irvin J. Coldren.
12—5. Elizabeth Coldren.
11—2. Marion Coldren, m. William H. Bilger.
12—1. Herbert C. Bilger.
11—3. James E. Coldren, m. Mabel Kerstetter.
12—1. James R. Coldren.
11—4. Harry W. Coldren, d. age 7.
11—5. Roy A. Coldren, m. Rhoda Swartz.
12—1. William C. Coldren.
10—2. Emma Caroline Erhard, d. —; m. Nathaniel Zettle.
11—1. Clarence Zettle, m. Fay McClintic.
11—2. John Erhard Zettle.
11—3. Mary P. Zettle.
11—4. Helen Lula Zettle.
10—3. Anna Catherine Erhard, m. Fred. Drake.
10—4. Jacob Newton Erhard.
10—5. John Clymer Erhard, m. Emma Eisenberg, d. ——.
10—6. George W. Erhard, m. Kate Raymond.
9—1. William Erhard, m. 2d. Hannah Jamison, d. ——.
9—2. Caroline Erhard, b. Mar. 18, 1832; d. July 27, 1855.
9—3. Aaron Erhard, d. ——; m. Mary Miller, d. ——.
10—1. Lewis Erhard, m. 1st. Mary Morgan; d. ——.
11—1. Elma Erhard.
11—2. La Berta Erhard.
11—3. Janette Erhard.
11—4. Gertrude Erhard.
11—5. John M. Erhard.
11—6. Clark Erhard.

11—7. Luella Erhard.
10—2. John Erhard.
10—3. William H. Erhard, m. Laura Hackenberg.
11—1. Hattie Erhard.
11—2. William Erhard.
11—3. Gertrude Erhard.
11—4. Ray Erhard.
10—4. Gertrude Erhard, m. William Nycum.
10—5. Calvin N. Erhard, m. Lula Fessler.
11—1. Raymond F. Erhard.
11—2. Calvin N. Erhard.
10—6. Ursinas Erhard, m. Kate Lellard.
11—1. Zacharias Erhard.
11—2. Dorothy Erhard.
10—7. Jacob W. Erhard, m. Gertrude Wagner.
11—1. Herbert Erhard.
10—8. Harry M. Erhard, m. Nellie Kirby.
11—1. Paul Erhard.
11—2. Farrel Erhard.
11—3. Leona Erhard.
9—4. Thomas G. Erhard, d. ——; m. Sarah Guisewite, d. ——.
10—1. Allen Erhard, m. Annie Wert, d. ——.
11—1. Guy Erhard, m. Susie Gump.
11—2. William Harry Erhard.
11—3. Maud Erhard.
11—4. Verna Erhard.
11—5. Mary Erhard.
10—2. George N. Erhard, m. Lizzie Musser.
11—1. Bertha E. Erhard, m. Ira Parker.
12—1. Lola Parker.
11—2. Delpha Erhard, m. James Parker.
12—1. Alfred Parker.

11—3. Fannie B. Erhard.
11—4. Thomas A. Erhard.
11—5. Sadie R. Erhard.
11—6. Ruth Erhard, d. ——.
10—3. Samuel E. Erhard, m. Lula Jacobson.
11—1. Clymer Jacobson Erhard.
11—2. Clarence E. Erhard.
11—3. Frederick Erhard.
10—4. Jacob C. Erhard, d. ——.
10—5. Alice Olivia Erhard, d. ——.
9—5. Jeremiah Erhard, b. Feb. 26, 1837; d. Dec. 14, 1847.
9—6. Rebecca Erhard, d. ——; m. William McKibben, d. ——.
10—1. Kate McKibben, m. Charles Bowes.
11—1. Thomas McKibben Bowes.
10—2. David Allison McKibben, m. Mayme Wolfe.
10—3. Mary Viola McKibben, d. ——.
10—4. Harmon Huston McKibben, m. Mary L. Allison.
11—1. Mary Rebecca McKibben, m. Clyde Johnson.
11—2. Joseph Allison McKibben, m. Ethel Waite.
12—1. Kenneth Huston McKibben.
12—2. Romane McKibben.
11—3. Jessie Catherine McKibben.
11—4. William Brady McKibben.
11—5. Ruth McKibben, d. ——.
11—6. Isabelle McKibben.
11—7. Lurette McKibben.
9—7. Amos B. Erhard, d. ——; m. Tillie Woodling, d. ——.
10—1. Emma Pauline Erhard, m. J. Frank Schrader.
10—2. Mary C. Erhard.

10—3. Vernie Arametta Erhard.
9—8. Cyrus Erhard, d. ——; m. Catherine Brungart, d. ——.
10—1. Rose Erhard, m. William W. Hackman.
11—1. Ruth Catherine Hackman, b. Apr. 17, 1877; d. Nov. 7, 1918; m. Thomas Adams.
11—2. Walter E. Hackman.
11—3. Lula May Hackman, m. William Norman Duck.
12—1. William N. Duck.
12—2. John Jacob Duck.
11—4. Paul Raymond Hackman, m. Verna Reish.
12—1. Gladys Hackman.
12—2. Cleona Hackman.
11—5. Mary Elizabeth Hackman.
11—6. William Henry Hackman.
11—7. Miriam Hackman.
10—2. Delphia Ardella Erhard, m. John D. Wynn.
11—1. Edith Armata Wynn.
11—2. Luella M. Wynn.
11—3. Warren Herschel Wynn.
11—4. Glenn Wynn.
11—5. John Wynn.
11—6. Albert Wynn.
10—3. Sarah Catharine Erhard, m. Edward Bierly.
11—1. Meyer Bierly, d. ——.
10—4. Clyde Erhard, m. ——.
11—1. Elaine Erhard.
11—2. Adeline Erhard.
11—3. Clyde Erhard, Jr.
10—5. Lula Erhard, m. Harry Sweet.
9—9. Ellen Erhard, b. Sept. 23, 1847; d. Nov. 5, 1897; m. Harvey H. Miller, b. June 27, 1847; d. June 19, 1915.

10—1. Wallace Miller, d. ——; m. 1st, Mary Denten, d. ——.
11—1. Mary Ellen Miller.
10—1. Wallace Miller, m. 2d, —— Guise.
9—10. Mary M. Erhard, d. ——; m. Samuel G. Gutelius, d. ——.
10—1. Fred Erhard Gutelius, m. Bessie Stover.
11—1. Mary Gutelius.
11—2. Violet Gutelius.
11—3. Catherine Gutelius.
11—4. Louise Gutelius.
10—2. Lydia Gutelius, m. Thomas Morris.
11—1. Harold G. Morris, m. ——.
11—2. Fred Morris.
11—3. Margarett L. Morris.
10—3. Daniel Brungart Gutelius, m. Louise Weil.
11—1. Harold Gutelius.
9—11. Franklin Pierce Erhard, b. 1853; m. Ella Heiter.
10—1. Lizzie M. Erhard, m. C. D. Loudenslager.
11—1. Donald Franklin Loudenslager.
10—2. Clark D. Erhard, m. Eva Elizabeth Gutelius.
11—1. Harold G. Erhard.
11—2. Fred. Erhard.
10—3. George Randal Erhard, m. Rose Wilson Hursh.
10—4. Frank Heiter Erhard, m. Victoria Warsing.
10—5. Amy Augusta Erhard, m. William Emmet Kneiple.
11—1. Amanda Geneva Kneiple.
11—2. Dorothy Louise Kneiple.
11—3. Frances Ellen Kneiple.
11—4. George Erhard Kneiple.
11—5. William Emmet Kneiple.
9—12. Eliza Jane Erhard, b. 1857; lived 6 mo.

8—2. Jacob Brungart, b. Jan. 9, 1814; d. Sept. 20, 1893; m. Sarah Corman, b. 1819; d. 1907.
9—1. Thomas Brungart, b. Aug. 22, 1839; d. ——.
9—2. Franklin Brungart, b. Jan. 17, 1841; d. June 18, 1890.
9—3. Sydney Brungart, b. Aug. 5, 1842; d. June 10, 1922; m. 1st, Sylvester Gramley, b. 1839; d. June 17, 1868.
10—1. Ira Gramley, m. Susan Stover.
11—1. Joseph Gramley.
11—2. Maude Gramley, m. Miles Arney.
11—3. Jennie Gramley.
11—4. Orvis Gramley.
10—2. Alice Gramley, m. Adam Auman, d. ——.
11—1. Mary Auman, m. Allen S. Winkelblech.
12—1. Marion Winkelblech.
12—2. Alice Winkelblech.
12—3. Ardrenna Winkelblech.
12—4. Harold Winkelblech.
12—5. Mahlon Winkelblech.
12—6. Bertha Winkelblech.
12—7. Lidia Winkelblech.
11—2. Clarence Auman.
10—3. Hettie Gramley, m. William Loder.
11—1. Venda Raymond Loder, b. Sept. 14, 1887; d. Nov. 1, 1887;
11—2. Victor Loder, b. May 28, 1890; d. July 7, 1890.
11—3. Maurice Loder, b. Aug. 12, 1891; d. Mar. 18, 1909.
11—4. Alice Elizabeth Loder, b. Apr. 26, 1896; m. —— Quay.
11—5. Infant son, b. Dec. 24, 1897; d. Dec. 24, 1897.
11—6. Ray Loder, b. Sept. 10, 1899; d. Nov. 18, 1899.

9—3. Sydney Brungart, m. 2d, John Hoy, d. ——.
10—4. Edward S. S. Hoy, m. ——.
9—4. Alice Brungart, b. Mar. 4, 1844, m. Jacob Sholl, d. May 2, 1890.
10—1. Emma Sholl, m. Hicks Noll.
11—1. Willis Noll.
11—2. Charles Noll.
10—2. Anna Sholl, b. Oct. 1, 1867; d. Aug. 17, 1869.
10—3. Thomas John Sholl, b. Nov. 17, 1869.
10—4. Lizzie Sholl, b. Sept. 30, 1871; d. Dec. 24, 1913; m. Jonas Stover.
10—5. Vernie S. Sholl, b. July 2, 1873, m. Charles H. Bierly.
11—1. Donald Bierly.
10—6. Minnie Kate Sholl, b. May 17, 1877; m. Clarence Noll.
11—1. Paul Noll.
10—7. Elenora Sholl, b. Feb. 21, 1879; m. Howard Ziegler.
10—8. William Jacob Sholl, b. Aug. 24, 1883; m. Anna Rhoad.
11—1. John William Sholl.
9—5. Newton Brungart, b. Sept. 1, 1845; m. Lucy Shaffer.
10—1. Samuel Brungart, b. Jan. 1, 1869; d. Sept. 22, 1885.
10—2. Edward Monroe Brungart, b. Oct. 31, 1871; m. Winifred Wolfe.
11—1. Sarah Brungart, b. Oct. 19, 1905.
11—2. Lois Brungart, b. Dec. 12, 1910.
10—3. Herbert I. Brungart, b. Apr. 1, 1873; m. Viola Walter.
11—1. Herbert W. Brungart, b. Aug. 10, 1914.

11—2. John Walter Brungart, b. Jan. 1916.
10—4. Jacob Wallace Brungart, b. Nov. 14, 1877; m. Bertha V. Dise.
11—1. Lellie Elizabeth Brungart, b. Dec. 10, 1903.
11—2. Franklin Dise Brungart, b. July 12, 1907.
10—5. John Victor Brungart, b. Feb. 24, 1882; m. Lida B. Yearick.
11—1. Harold N. Brungart, b. Jan. 11, 1906.
11—2. Randal E. Brungart, b. Jan. 24, 1908.
11—3. Malcolm Brungart.
10—6. Harry Roy Brungart, b. Apr. 11, 1891; m. Irene Rishel.
11—1. Newton Rishel Brungart, b. Dec. 24, 1914.
9—6. Henry C. Brungart, b. Sept. 5, 1847; d. Oct. 22, 1901; m. Margarett Leitzel, b. June 17, 1848; d. May 15, 1904.
10—1. Lawrence Brungart, d. ——.
10—2. Carrie Brungart, m. Bert S. Wood.
11—1. Margaret Wood, m. William Patterson.
12—1. Mary Catherine Patterson.
11—2. Charles Brungart Wood, m. ——.
9—7. Cyrus Brungart, b. Nov. 20, 1851; m. Dolly J. Emerick.
10—1. Sallie Brungart, m. John Gettshall.
11—1. Wendell Gettshall.
10—2. Anna Brungart.
10—3. Cara Brungart.
9—8. Jacob Clayton Brungart, b. Nov. 17, 1857; m. 1st, Maggie Ruth, d. Dec. 26, 1888.
10—1. Sarah C. Brungart, d. ——; m. William D. Brungart.
11—1. Mildred Brungart.
11—2. Edna Brungart.

11—3. Sara Brungart.
10—2. Matilda Brungart, b. Aug. 13, 1882; d. Dec. 2, 1882.
10—3. John R. Brungart, b. June 4, 1886.
9—8. Jacob Clayton Brungart, m. 2d, Emma Crouse.
9—9. G. Luther Brungart, d. ——.
9—10. Miranda Brungart, b. Aug. 23, 1854; m. Mar. 9, 1875; James A. Wert, b. Nov. 28, 1854.
10—1. Sarah Jane Wert, b. Oct. 16, 1876; m. David C. Bohn, b. May 17, 1868.
11—1. George James Bohn, b. June 2, 1895.
11—2. John Edward Bohn, b. Feb. 28, 1897.
11—3. Carl Henry Bohn, b. July 9, 1898.
11—4. Miranda Ruth Bohn, b. May 1, 1901.
11—5. Russell William Bohn, b. Apr. 28, 1904.
11—6. Fay Elizabeth Bohn, b. Oct. 30, 1905.
11—7. James David Bohn, b. June 9, 1908.
11—8. Sarah May Bohn, b. Nov. 4, 1909.
11—9. Frederick Bohn, b. Oct. 5, 1911.
11—10. Charles Wert Bohn, b. July 25, 1913.
10—2. John Brungart Wert, b. July 22, 1877; m. Bertha Gertrude Rossman, b. Apr. 10, 1882.
11—1. Mary Rebecca Wert, b. Dec. 31, 1903.
11—2. Michael Rossman Wert, b. Jan. 3, 1906.
11—3. James Kenneth Wert, b. Mar. 31, 1908.
11—4. Martha Ruth Wert, b. May 7, 1910.
11—5. John Wagner Wert, b. Dec. 22, 1912.
11—6. Anna Wert.
10—3. Claude Edward Wert, b. Aug. 12, 1883; m. Lilian Pearl Frank, b. July 21, 1888.
11—1. Kathryn Miranda Wert, b. May 4, 1906.
11—2. Philip Wert, b. Jan. 21, 1911; d. May 12, 1911.
11—3. Martin Luther Wert, b. Nov. 25, 1912.

10—4. David Spahr Wert, b. July 14, 1890; m. Eva Elizabeth Fleisher, b. Nov. 3, 1890.
9—11. Jeremiah Brungart, b. Mar. 25, 1860; m. Tena Lamey.
10—1. Sadie Brungart, b. Mar. 27, 1879; m. Forest Emerick.
11—1. John Emerick, b. Dec. 30, 1897.
11—2. Marion Emerick, b. Dec. 12, 1901.
11—3. Dorothy Emerick, b. May 24, 1905.
11—4. Sarah Emerick, b. July 25, 1907.
10—2. Anna M. Brungart, b. June 21, 1886; m. Charles Miller.
11—1. Howard Miller.
9—12. Ira Brungart, m. Ellen M. Snook.
10—1. Bertha Catherine Brungart, d. ——.
10—2. Clarence Cleveland Brungart, m. Lula Mowery.
11—1. Kermit Harry Brungart.
11—2. Thelma Marion Brungart.
11—3. Geraldine Brungart.
11—4. Harold Brungart.
11—5. Harry Brungart.
11—6. William Brungart.
10—3. Estella Mary Brungart, m. William C. Witmer.
11—1. Leonard Witmer.
10—4. Degar Samuel Brungart.
10—5. Raymond Jacob Brungart, m. Irene Anderson.
10—6. Wilbur Reuben Brungart, m. Velma E. Hosterman.
11—1. Pauline Susan Brungart.
10—7. Walter Snook Brungart, d. ——.
10—8. Charles Henry Brungart, d. ——.
8—3. Johannes Brungart, b. Mar. 9, 1817; d. Jan. 10, 1828.

8—4. Susanna Brungart, b. Mar. 10, 1819; d. Mar. 20, 1862; m. Jeremiah Haines, b. May 23, 1818; d. Apr. 14, 1893.

9—1. Emelina J. Haines, b. Sept. 6, 1846; m. Thomas E. Royer, b. 1840; d. 1912.

10—1. Susan Royer, b. Oct. 4, 1870; m. John Long.

10—2. Harry H. Royer, b. Oct. 6, 1874; m. Lula Stover, b. Dec. 5, 1874.

9—2. George B. Haines, b. 1849; m. Emma C. Burket, b. 1852; d. 1918.

10—1. William Burket Haines, b. May 28, 1869; m. Lydia Ocker, b. June 21, 1869; d. Nov. 17, 1916.

11—1. Harry Haines, m. —— McAffray.

12—1. Charles Haines.

12—2. George Haines.

10—2. Charles M. Haines, d. ——.

10—3. Elizabeth Haines, m. Orvis Walker, d. ——.

10—4. M. Claude Haines, b. Jan. 15, 1878; m. Alma Gramley, b. Mar. 8, 1883.

11—1. Kenneth Gramley Haines.

8—5. George Brungart, b. Feb. 4, 1821; d. Mar. 20, 1898; m. Mary Wolfort, b. Aug. 25, 1829; d. Nov. 20, 1897.

9—1. Mary Jane Brungart, d. ——; m. William Waite, d. ——.

10—1. George Adam Waite, m. Mary Kreamer.

11—1. Jay Waite.

10—2. Samuel A. Waite, m. Jane Wolfort.

11—1. Boyd Waite.

11—2. Mayme Waite.

11—3. Annie Waite.

11—4. Charles Waite.

10—3. Thomas N. Waite, m. 1st, Mame Stratton; m. 2d, Kate Hayes.
11—1. Lee Roy Waite.
10—4. Maize Waite.
10—5. E. Rose Waite.
10—6. William H. Waite.
10—7. Clyde Waite, m. —— Stover.
10—8. Dolly Jane Waite, d. ——.
9—2. Lewis Brungart, b. Oct. 9, 1848; d. Oct. 31, 1916; m. Marie Wise, b. Apr. 28, 1848; d. May 14, 1895.
10—1. Paul Brungart, d. ——.
10—2. Vera Catherine Brungart, b. Aug. 26, 1882.
9—3. Amanda Brungart, b. 1850; m. David Yoder, d. ——.
10—1. Lizzie Yoder, m. Calvin Royer.
11—1. Hoyt Royer, m. —— Ziegler.
12—1. Gerson Royer.
11—2. Glenn Royer, m. Elizabeth Archey.
12—1. Archey Royer.
10—2. Catherine Yoder, m. William Tyson.
11—1. Harry Tyson, m. Alda Campbell.
11—2. Sidney Tyson, m. Lillian Letch.
12—1. William Henry Tyson.
11—3. Annie Tyson, m. Blair Tate.
12—1. Kathryn Tate.
10—3. Emma Yoder, m. S. William Seyler.
11—1. Paul Seyler, m. Ester Riegel.
12—1. Miriam Henrietta Seyler.
11—2. Myrtel Seyler.
9—4. Susan Brungart, d. ——.
9—5. William Brungart, m. Ellen Rowe, d. ——.
10—1. George W. Brungart, m. Clara Ann Confer.

10—2. Mary Ellen Brungart.
10—3. John Rowe Brungart.
9—6. Sophia Brungart, m. 1st, Pierce Zellers, d. ——.
10—1. Lula May Zellers.
9—6. Sophia Brungart, m. 2d, Harvey Laubach.
10—2. Lydia May Laubach.
10—3. Edna Marie Laubach.
9—7. Adam Noah Brungart, m. Mary Crouse.
10—1. Nora May Brungart, m. Allen Guisewite.
11—1. Delphia Guisewite.
11—2. Irene Guisewite.
11—3. Glenn B. Guisewite.
10—2. Harry Cleve Brungart, m. 1st, Linnie Weaver, b. Jan. 29, 1881; d. May 31, 1913.
11—1. Harry Weaver Brungart.
10—2. Harry Cleve Brungart, m. 2d, Laura Weaver.
10—3. Beulah Elizabeth Brungart, m. Lee L. Wolfe.
11—1. Mary Lorena Wolfe.
11—2. Rosaline Wolfe.
11—3. Virginia Wolfe.
11—4. Donald Wolfe.
11—5. Marion Wolfe.
11—6. Loretta Wolfe.
10—4. Delphia Lorena Brungart, b. 1888; d. 1922; m. Paul Walkey.
11—1. Robert Edward Walkey.
11—2. Evaline Walkey.
10—5. George Bloomer Brungart, m. Allina Smith.
11—1. Robert Crouse Brungart, d. ——.
10—6. Robert C. Brungart.
10—7. Norman E. Brungart, m. Alverta Bierly.
11—1. Madeline Viola Brungart.
10—8. John Rufus Brungart, m. Ruth Royer.

11—1. Helen May Brungart.
9—8. Catherine Brungart, d. ——.
9—9. Alfred Brungart, m. Media Mader.
10—1. Mary Mabel Brungart, d. ——; m. Samuel Yearick.
11—1. Nora Yearick, m. Orien Reish.
12—1. Donald Reish.
12—2. Glenn Reish.
11—2. Vesta Yearick.
11—3. Ruth Yearick.
11—4. Wilbur Yearick.
11—5. Elizabeth Yearick.
10—2. Vesta Viola Brungart, m. John Kleckner.
11—1. Catherine Winifred Kleckner, m. Irvin Royer.
10—3. Paul A. Brungart, m. Verda Moyer.
10—4. Harry M. Brungart, m. 1st, Annie Fisher.
11—1. Mary Ellen Brungart, d. ——.
11—2. Dorothy May Brungart.
10—4. Harry M. Brungart, m. 2d, Mary Herman.
10—5. William H. Brungart, m. Dora Bingaman.
10—6. Rama Blanche Brungart, d. ——.
10—7. Valira May Brungart, m. Norman Duck.
11—1. Beatrice Duck.
11—2. Winifred Anabel Duck, d. ——.
11—3. Hazel Viola Duck.
10—8. Jodia Onita Brungart, m. Charles Miller.
11—1. Donald Miller.
9—10. Emma Brungart, m. Levi Frazier, d. ——.
10—1. Clyde Frazier, m. Caroline Walker.
10—2. Matilda Frazier, m. James Bridgens.
11—1. Edward Bridgens, m. Grace Killinger.
11—2. Frazier Bridgens.
11—3. Trenna Bridgens.

11—4. Harry Bridgens.
11—5. Cora Bridgens.
11—6. Sidney Bridgens.
10—3. William Frazier.
10—4. Cora Frazier, m. Irvin Harry.
10—5. Sidney Frazier.
9—11. Alice Brungart, m. Calvin Crouse.
8—6. Daniel Brungart, b. July 4, 1823; d. Apr. 8, 1897; m. Phoebe Ann Royer, b. Feb. 19, 1825; d. Oct. 16, 1920.
9—1. Elmira Elizabeth Brungart, b. Feb. 6, 1847; d. Feb. 15, 1850.
9—2. Jasper R. Brungart, b. June 17, 1851; m. Mary Elizabeth Long, b. June 28, 1850; d. May 12, 1914.
8—7. Sarah Brungart, b. Apr. 22, 1825; d. Sept. 1, 1886; m. Samuel Frank, b. Apr. 25, 1821; d. Jan. 9, 1906.
9—1. Pauline Frank, b. Mar. 22, 1846; d. Apr. 13, 1923; m. Reuben D. Bierly, b. Feb. 3, 1844; d. July 8, 1912.
10—1. Sallie J. Bierly, b. Sept. 27, 1868; d. Sept. 29, 1916; m. Thomas A. Auman, b. Dec. 30, 1870.
11—1. Miriam Ulalia Auman, b. Apr. 6, 1893; m. Harry Confer, b. June 30, 1890.
12—1. Bernard Confer, b. Aug. 20, 1914.
12—2. Doyle Confer, b. Jan. 12, 1916.
12—3. Helen Confer, b. Oct. 17, 1918.
12—4. Laird Confer, b. Mar. 20, 1923; d. Apr. 27, 1923.
11—2. Russel Frank Auman, b. Apr. 20, 1889; m. —— Rennick.
11—3. Harold B. Auman.

10—2. Willis F. Bierly, b. Aug. 31, 1873; m. Lottie Weber, b. Mar. 13, 1880.
11—1. Robert W. Bierly, b. Dec. 11, 1896; m. Madaline Cabel, b. Jan. 3, 1903.
12—1. Clarence Willis Bierly, b. Aug. 7, 1919.
12—2. Margaret Ruth Bierly, b. June 6, 1921.
12—3. Donald Eugene Bierly, b. Mar. 1, 1923.
11—2. Norman R. Bierly, b. Dec. 4, 1899; m. Marie Leister, b. Sept. 18, 1903.
12—1. Eveline Irene Bierly, b. Oct. 16, 1921.
11—3. Hilda Pauline Bierly, b. Sept. 23, 1903; m. John Ocker, b. Apr. 20, 1901.
12—1. Jeanne Catherine Ocker, b. Sept. 19, 1921.
11—4. Palmer Bierly, b. July 3, 1906.
10—3. Charles C. Bierly, b. July 3, 1875; m. Ada Weber, b. Apr. 24, 1877.
11—1. Dorothy Bierly, b. May 17, 1907.
10—4. Curtis Melanchton Bierly, m. Mayme Wolfe.
11—1. Stanley Bierly.
11—2. Paul W. Bierly.
11—3. Eugene G. Bierly.
11—4. Woodrow W. Bierly.
11—5. Edith I. Bierly.
11—6. Ruth Bierly.
10—5. Melvin Clyde Bierly, d. ——.
10—6. Samuel A. Bierly, b. May 12, 1883; m. Lodia Shaffer, b. July 20, 1890.
11—1. Madaline Ruth Bierly, d. ——.
11—2. Ruth Madaline Bierly, d. ——.
11—3. Joanna Bierly, d. ——.
11—4. Elizabeth Bierly, b. Jan. 17, 1912.
10—7. Raymond Spurgeon Bierly, d. ——.

9—2. James Polk Frank, b. Feb. 24, 1849; m. Margaret Spangler, b. June 18, 1848; d. Oct. 3, 1905.
10—1. Samuel S. Frank, b. Dec. 14, 1877; d. June 4, 1913; m. Gertrude Kreamer.
11—1. Clarence Frank, b. Mar. 28, 1892; d. July 22, 1916; m. Grace Bailets.
12—1. James Frank.
10—2. Charles Orvis Frank, b. Apr. 17, 1880; m. Rebecca Covert.
11—1. Elizabeth Frank, b. May 26, 1906.
11—2. Mary Catherine Frank, b. July 23, 1908.
11—3. James Newton Frank, b. June 4, 1910.
11—4. Charles Frank, b. May 1, 1914.
9—3. Luther B. Frank, b. 1856; d. 1911; m. Mary C. Wolfe.
9—4. George S. Frank, m. Melissa Miller.
8—8. Margarett Brungart, b. Mar. 15, 1827; d. Apr. 25, 1849; m. John Hosterman, b. Dec. 26, 1826; d. Sept. 28, 1909.
6—6. Hannah Weiser, m. Nov. 3, 1782, George Kehl.
6—7. Maria (or Margaret) Weiser, confirmed 1782, age 16.
6—8. Salome (or Sarah) Weiser, confirmed 1784, age 15; m. John Kehl.
5—5. Peter Weiser, b. Feb. 27, 1730, at Tulpehocken. He was a resident of Penn Township, Snyder Co., Pa, in 1776.
6. Samuel Weiser, godson of Samuel, his father's brother.
5—6. Christopher Weiser (twin) b. Feb. 15, 1731; lived 15 weeks.
5—6. Jacob Weiser (twin) b. Feb. 15, 1731; lived 13 weeks.

5—8. Margaret Weiser, b. Jan. 28, 1734; d. 1838; m. 1st, Rev. J. D. M. Heintzelman, 2nd, —— Finker (probably Anthony Fricker, innkeeper, Reading, Pa.)

6. Israel Heintzelman.

6. —— Finker.

7. Mary Finker, b. 1785; d. 1824; m. Apr. 7, 1805, John Frantz, b. 1781; d. 1834, son of Daniel Frantz, who was probably son of John Frantz, captured by Indians in 1758. He m. 2nd, widow Phillippi.

8. Margaret Franz, b. 1819; d. 1891; m. Peter W. Gray, of Sunbury, Pa.

9. Margaret Louisa Gray, b. 1852; m. T. A. Murdock.

10. William Gray Murdock, b. July 27, 1881.

5—9. Samuel Weiser, b. Apr. 23, 1735; will probated July 8, 1794, (land willed to sons Benjamin and Daniel, and Maria Margaret, his wife, Judith, to manage the plantation); m. May 28, 1760, Judith Levan.

During the French and Indian War he was Captain-Lieutenant, 1756, First Battalion, Pennsylvania Regiment, stationed at Fort Henry, in command of his father's company (the Colonel's Company); same in 1757; captain 1758 to March, 1759, in Second Battalion during expedition against Fort Duquesne under General Forbes. Upon his father's death he succeeded him as the Government Interpreter, but the need of such an office was not so great as before, and his knowledge of the Indian language not so extensive. He was, latterly, of Mahoney Township, Northumberland County, Penna.

6—1. Benjamin Weiser, b. 1766; d. 1826; m. Polly Leopard.

He went from Tulpehocken to Sugar Valley (now Clinton County) as a young man.

7—1. Benjamin Weiser, m. Judith Redinger.

7—2. Peggy Weiser, m. Henry Hess; residence, Centre Co., Pa.

7—2. Betsey Weiser, m. Michael Hess; removed to Punxsutawney, Pa.

7—4. Hetty Weiser, m. Henry Winkelman.

7—5. Mary Weiser, m. John Smth; residence, Penn's Valley, Centre Co., Pa.

7—6. Katie Weiser, m. Daniel Wertz.

7—7. Samuel Weiser, m. Elis Snavely; residence, Penn's Valley, Centre Co., Pa.

8—1. Henry Weiser, m. Kate Long.

8—2. Susan Weiser, m. Peter Rearick; residence, Altoona, Pa.

8—3. Aaron Weiser (twin).

8—3 Sarah Weiser (twin).

8—5. William Weiser, m. Julia Hess.

8—6. Samuel Weiser, m. Henrietta Thompson.

8—7. Charles Weiser, m. Louisa Otto, moved to Ohio.

8—8. Elizabeth Weiser, m. H. B. Brown.

8—9. Benjamin Weiser, m. Ellen Smith.

7—8. Sarah Weiser, b. 1816—(still living 1897); m. John Wagoner, residence, Bellefonte, Pa.

8—1. Henry Wagoner.

8—2. John Wagoner.

8—3. Emma Wagoner, m. Michael Hess.

8—4. Susan Wagoner.

6—2. Daniel Weiser.

6—3. Maria Margaret Weiser.

5—10. Benjamin Weiser, b. July 18, 1736; lived 3 months.

5—11. Jabez Weiser, b. Aug. 11, 1740; lived 17 days.

5—12. Hanna Weiser, b. Feb. 27, 1742; d. Aug. 11, 1742.

5—13. Benjamin Weiser, b. Aug. 12, 1744.

In the Revolution, Captain in the German Continental Regiment, July 8, 1776, but, apparently, cashiered, Oct. 31, 1776, for some misconduct at Montressor's Island; Captain in Northumberland County Militia at Philadelphia, January 30, 1777; Justice of the Peace in Northumberland County, 1772; Justice of the Peace in Snyder County, Jan. 1, 1778. He was pursued by the phantom of recovering on his grandfather's possessions in the State of New York, and, in a letter of Apr. 2, 1778, to Governor Simon Snyder, he refers to his progress made in that direction.

Christopher Frederick Weiser.

4—2. Christopher Frederick Weiser, brother of Colonel Conrad Weiser, b. Feb. 24, 1699, at Gross-Aspach, Germany; d. 5.00 a.m., June 16, 1768, and was buried on the morning of June 18 in the presence of a large congregation. He united, Sept. 4, 1746, with the Moravian Congregation in Heidelberg Township, Berks County, Pa.; admitted to Lord's Table Jan. 21, 1748; m. 1st, Elizabeth ——, b. 1702; 2d, Maria Catharine Roeder widow of Johannes Knauss.

Maria Catharine Roeder was dau. of John Adam Röder and his wife Catharine, née Tauber. She was born, Mar.

24, 1720, in Mutterstadt, near Manheim, Germany, and was baptized there by the Reformed pastor, Rev. Kahlman. She came to Pennsylvania in 1724 with her parent. (Vide records of Moravian Church at Emaus, Pa., July 29, 1762, in Penna. Archives, 2d Series, vol. 9, p. 158, which also gives list of children.)

The following are the recorded deeds to his property, known as the "Old Weiser farm," and, latterly, (1902), as "Seibert's farm."

Caspar Wistar and Catharine, his wife, of Philadelphia, received a large tract of land from the "Sovereign Lord, George III."

Wistar, being kind-hearted, gave land, free of charge to friends. In 1745 he granted this farm to Christopher Weiser and Catharine, his wife, "to be a home for them as long as they live."

In 1764, Christopher sold the tract to his son, Jacob Weiser, for £1,400.

In 1783, Jacob Weiser built the house on this farm, a rough-stone building as good as new in 1902.

In 1806, Jacob Weiser sold to his son, John Weiser, for £2,600 in gold and silver coin.

John Weiser sold it to Thomas T. Rehrer.

In 1832, Thomas T. Rehrer sold it to Peter Brown for $7,313.

In 1839, Peter Brown sold it to Daniel Kline for $9,270.

In 1867, Daniel Kline sold it to his son, Peter Kline, for $25,500.

In 1873, Peter Kline sold it to William Kaufman for $20,000.

In 1880, William Kaufman sold it to Jonathan Seibert, the owner in 1902.

5—1. John Conrad Weiser, b. Sept. 29. 1725; confirmed Oct. 9, 1748, age 22, in Christ Tulpehocken Lutheran Church; m. Jan. 29, 1749, in the church, to Maria Margaretta Batdorf.

The records of the birth of his children are taken from the register of Christ Tulpehocken Lutheran Church.

6—1. Catharine Elizabeth Weiser, b. Jan. 23, 1750; bap. Jan. 28, 1750, sponsors, Stophel Noecker and wife; confirmed 1765, age 15½; m. June 18, 1771, John Salzgeber (or Saltzenberger), son of Andreas.

6—2. Martinus Weiser, b. Oct. 15, 1751; bap. Nov. 10, 1751, sponsors, Martin Batdorf and wife; confirmed 1768, age 16; m. Catharine ——.

7—1. John Henry Weiser, b. Feb. 24, 1775; bap. Mar. 15, 1775, sponsors, Henry Spyker and wife Anna Maria.

Spyker Data.

John Peter Spyker and his wife, Regina, with their two sons, Peter and Benjamin, landed at Philadelphia, Sept. 24, 1737. Peter, the elder son, was born Oct. 27, 1711, and died July 13, 1789. He married, Dec. 2, 1742, Maria Margaretta Seidel, born March 21, 1721, died Oct. 10, 1781. They had ten children, four of them dying in infancy, one of them being drowned in a spring while they lived at Skippack. The others, who reached adult life, were Benjamin, born March 16, 1747; Elizabeth, born May 18, 1749; Maria Barbel, born Dec. 29, 1752; John Henry, born Aug. 29, 1753; Peter, born Nov. 25, 1756; John, born Jan. 8, 1761. Benjamin and Henry served as officers during the Revolution, and John filled a number of important offices in Berks County.

7—2. John Weiser, b. Jan. 25, 1778; bap. Feb. 21, 1778, sponsors, John Salzgeber and Catharine.

7—3. Maria Eve Weiser, b. June 2, 1782; bap. June 13, 1782, sponsor, widow Miller.

6—3. John Weiser (twin) b. Mar. 31, 1754; bap. Apr. 28, 1754, sponsors, Joh. and Maria Elizabeth Batdorf; m. Feb. 3, 1774, Elizabeth Preiss.

7—1. Child, name not given, b. Feb. 1775; bap. Mar. 28, 1775.

7—2. Catharine Weiser, b. Jan. 3, 1793; bap. Jan. 1, 1794.

6—3. Anna Maria Weiser (twin) b. Apr. 1, 1754; bap. Apr. 28, 1754, sponsors, Joh. Mc. Kurtz and wife; d. Oct. 11, 1829; m. John Henry Spyker, b. Aug. 29, 1753; d. July 1, 1817.

He was Lieut.-Col. 6th Battalion, Berks Co., Pa., Militia, 1777. Moved from Berks County to Lewisburg, Pa., where on Aug. 5, 1795, he began building the first brick house in Lewisburg, still standing near the river bank, in the south-east corner of the town. He was son of John Peter Spyker, b. Oct. 27, 1711; d. July 13, 1789, President Judge of Berks County Courts, 1780, and wife, Maria Margaret Seidle.

7. Daniel Spyker, b. Feb. 2, 1781; d. June 25, 1855; m. Margaret Roush.

8—1. Samuel Spyker, b. Aug. 8, 1806; d. Sept. 20, 1854; m. Susan Wise.

8—2. Mary Spyker, b. Feb. 17, 1811; d. Apr. 26, 1888; m. Feb. 28, 1832, Henry Gast, b. Sept. 13, 1806; d. Nov. 2, 1897.

9—1. Margaret Magdalina Gast, b. Mar. 2, 1834; d. Dec. 2, 1871.

9—2. John Daniel Spyker Gast, b. Nov. 24, 1835; d. Dec. 2, 1903; m. Jan. 7, 1868, Elizabeth Piper.

10—1. Harry Gast, b. Apr. 9, 1869; m. Jan., 1896, Anna Rothermel.

11—1. Elizabeth Gast.

10—2. Margaret Gast, b. Oct. 3, 1870; m. Robert Snodgrass.

10—3. Mayme Gast, b. Nov. 26, 1873; m. Nov. 7, 1901, Guy Roush.

10—4. Katharine Gast, b. June 21, 1875; m. June 1, 1899, Newton Kurtz.

11—1. Spyker Kurtz.

9—3. George Calvin Gast, b. Oct. 26, 1837; d. Feb. 18, 1840.

9—4. Oliver Henry Gast, b. Jan. 31, 1839; d. Feb. 18, 1839.

9—5. John Reynolds Gast, b. Mar. 7, 1840; m. 1st, Mary Bechtel, no issue; 2nd, Blanche Reighard.

9—6. Catharine Ann Gast, b. June 4, 1842; m. Oct. 8, 1867, John Montelius.

10—1. Charles Harry Montelius, b. Aug. 28, 1868; d. May 7, 1869.

10—2. Joseph K. Montelius, b. Feb. 17, 1870; m. Nov. 30, 1898, Helen Stadler.

11—1. Harry Montelius, b. Sept. 8, 1899.

11—2. Catharine Montelius, b. Aug. 8, 1901.

11—3. Alfred Montelius, b. Feb. 1, 1903.

11—4. Ruth Montelius, b. Aug. 29, 1905.

10—3. Margaret G. Montelius, b. Mar. 20, 1871.

10—4. George Montelius, b. Nov. 30, 1872; m. June 26, 1900, Anna Stadler.

11—1. Charles Henry Montelius, b. June 23, 190–.

11—2. Dorothy Helen Montelius, b. Mar. 28, 1907.

10—5. John Montelius, b. Nov. 10, 1874; m. June 20, 1899, Emilie McKinney.

10—6. Mary Rebecca Montelius, b. Mar. 17, 1879; residence, Piper City, Ill.

9—7. Emma Gast, b. Apr. 22, 1846; d. Nov. 8, 1877.

8—3. George Spyker, b. 1814; d. Jan. 5, 1888; m. Leah Shank.

8—4. Henry Spyker, b. Feb. 14, 1816; d. Apr. 7, 1885; m. 1st, Feb. 17, 1842, Elizabeth Kramer, 2nd, Oct. 25, 1881, Emma Peters.

9—1. Irene Spyker (dau. 2nd wife).

8—5. Margaret Spyker, b. 1819; d. Feb. 3, 1846; m. Sol. Moyer.

8—6. Jonathan Spyker, b. Sept. 1, 1823; d. Feb. 17, 1867.

7. Jonathan Spyker, b. 1785; d. 1862.

7. Maria Margaret Spyker, b. July 5, 1786; bap. Aug. 6, 1786, by Rev. Schulze, sponsors, Benjamin Spicker, Sen. and Fr. Margareth Barbara; d. Mar. 18, 1863; m. Alexander Graham, d. 1839—issue 13 children.

8. Margaret Graham, m. Dr. Joseph Flavel Grier.

9. John A. Grier.
Chief Engineer, U. S. Navy, Civil War.

10. Margaret Graham Grier, residence, Chicago, Ill. (Hyde Park).

8. Mary Graham, b. Sept. 24, 1814; d. Nov. 21, 1890; m. —— Marr.

9. Addison Graham Marr, b. Jan. 24, 1844; residence, Shamokin, Pa.

7. Peter Spyker.

6—5. Christopher Weiser, b. Apr. 4, 1756; bap. May 2, 1756, sponsors, Philip Breitenbach and his wife, confirmed 1772, age 16; d. Mar. 30, 1818; m. Barbara ——.

In Revolution, Sergt., Capt. Peter Decker's Co., 5th Penna. Battalion, Col. Robert Magaw.

7—1. Eva Elizabeth Weiser, b. Jan. 22, 1779; bap. Feb. 1, 1779, sponsor, Eva Weiser.

7—2. Christopher Weiser, b. Oct. 25, 1780; bap. Oct. 29, 1780, sponsors, Johannes Saltzgeber and wife Catharine; d. Oct. 25, 1813.

7—3. Maria Margaretta Weiser, b. Feb., 1782; bap. Mar. 21, 1782, sponsors, Henry Spyker and wife Maria.

7—4. George Weiser, b. Jan. 25, 1785; bap. Mar. 28, 1785, sponsors, Johan Lechner and Anna M. Hassinger; d. July 2, 1857; m. Elizabeth Bucher, b. Jan. 6, 1787. Had eight children.

8. Dr. Charles Peter Shindel Weiser, b. Aug. 7, 1827; d. 1860; m. Sarah Catherine Brosius, b. Sept. 7, 1827. Had two children.

9. Dr. George Bucher Brosius Weiser, b. Sept 7. 1858; m. Sarah Catherine Schock, b. Oct. 13, 1862. Had one child.

10. Katharine Georgia Weiser, b. Jan. 2, 1900.

7—5. David Weiser.

7—6. Daniel Weiser, b. Nov. 24, 1792; d. Oct. 8, 1816.

6—6. Anna Eva Weiser, b. (7 br.) Sept. 15, 1758; bap. (8 br.) Oct 15, 1758, sponsors, Jacob Weiser and wife Anna Eve Batdorf; confirmed 1774, age 15.

6—7. Anna Catharine Weiser, b. Feb. 12, 1761; bap. Mar. 15, 1761, sponsors, Benjamin and Anna Weiser; confirmed 1774, age 14.

6—8. John Weiser, b. Dec. 15, 1762; bap. Jan. 1, 1763, sponsors, Simon Kappenhaver and wife; confirmed 1778; m. Justina ——.

7—1. Anna Catharine Weiser, b. July 8, 1783; bap. July 18, 1783, sponsors, Jacob Kehl and wife Anna Catharine.

7—2. Benjamin Weiser, b. Aug. 16, 1785; bap. Sept. 11, 1785, sponsors, Michael (or Martin) Kehl and wife Maria Catharine.

7—3. Johannes Weiser, b. Aug. 21, 1787; bap. Sept. 8, 1787, sponsors, Jacob Baer and wife Susanna.

7—4. John Peter Weiser (twin) b. Dec. 10, 1789; bap. Dec. 27, 1789, sponsor, Peter Kehl.

7—4. Henrietta Weiser (twin) b. Dec. 10, 1789; bap. Dec. 27, 1789, sponsor, Anna Kehl.

6—9. Samuel Weiser, b. May 16, 1765; bap. June 23, 1765, sponsors, Simon Kappenhaver and his wife; confirmed 1780, age 15; d. Jan. 15, 1838; m. Eva Katherina Pflüger; d. 1856; moved to York, Pa., when 15 years old.

7. Samuel Weiser, b. May 3, 1788; d. July 20, 1856. Married twice.

8. Margaret Eve Weiser (8th child) b. 1825; still living living 1905; m. —— Poorbaugh.

9. Lizzie R. Poorbaugh (5th child) b. 1854, still living 1905; m. his 2nd wife, Rev. Cyrus Cort D.D., residence, Overlea, Md., 1917, b. Mar. 15, 1833.

9. Ann Poorbaugh, m. —— Ziegler.

10. Weiser Zeigler, one of four sons. Principal of York Public Schools.

9. Henry N. Poorbaugh.

10. Katherine Poorbaugh, m. Prof. Chas. K. Edmunds, President of Canton College, China.

8. Emilius I. Weiser, (by 2nd wife) b. Apr. 16, 1835; still living 1901; m. Feb. 3, 1864, Mary Louise von Hoff, b. Mechanicsburg, Pa., Nov. 18, 1843, dau. Dr. Augustus Henry von Hoff, who was son of Rev. John Henry von Hoff, pastor St. Peter's Lutheran Church, 1830–34.

When fifteen years old he started across the mountains from York, Pa., where he was born, for Berlin, Somerset Co., Pa., his father going with him as far as Chambersburg; remained in Berlin about two years, working in a general store, then returned to York and became an apprentice in a drug store. At the age of twenty-one went West and located in Decorah, Iowa, his late residence, starting a drug store. He was the first to enlist in the Civil War from that county and was commissioned, Apr. 27, 1861, as First Lieut. of the Decorah Guards. On June 8, 1861, commissioned First Lieut. Co. D, 3rd Iowa Vol. Infantry. His captain being disabled at the battle of Blue Mills, Mo., he was promoted to captain; served through the Missouri campaign; moved to Pittsburg Landing, March, 1862, and attached to 1st Brig., 4th Div., Army of the Tennessee; wounded by a canister shot at the battle of Shiloh, Apr. 6, 1862, and laid up for several months; again wounded at battle of Mattonioro, Miss., Oct. 5, 1862, a minie ball shattering his right thigh bone; after many months rejoined his company at Natchez, Miss. " on two crutches," and was ordered north by Gen. J. B. McPherson on re-

cruiting service, where at the end of his three years, he was honorably discharged.

9—1. A son, b. Apr. 1, 1865; d. at birth.

9—2. Emilius James Weiser, b. Jan. 3, 1867; m. May 17, 1893, Grace E. Marsh.

Graduate Phar. Dept. North Western University, Chicago; succeeded his father in the drug business, Jan. 1, 1893; sold out Sept. 1, 1899; moved to Ortonville, Minn., and became cashier of Bank of Ortonville.

10—1. Charlotte Weiser, b. June 27, 1900.

9—3. William Walter Weiser, b. Aug. 24, 1870; d. July 13, 1872.

9—4. Samuel von Hoff Weiser, b. Sept. 19, 1872; m. June 17, 1897, Edna May Tierney, no issue.

Graduate Dental Dept., North Western University, Chicago. Practice West Union, Iowa.

9—5. Henry Mortimer Weiser, b. Feb. 4, 1874.

7. Charles Weiser, b. Dec. 29, 1796; d. July 17, 1867.

8. John A. Weiser, b. July 1824.

9. George U. Weiser.

Firm of Eyster, Weiser Co., York, Pa.

8. Charles S. Weiser.

8. Erastus H. Weiser, b. Jan. 28, 1826; d. July 11, 1872.

9. William Franklin Weiser, d. Apr. 1, 1906, York, Pa.

7. Elizabeth Weiser, b. June 18, 1807; m. 1st, Samuel Ilgenfritz, Jr., York, Pa.

He was son of Samuel Ilgenfritz, Sr., b. Apr. 21, 1769; d. Sept. 11, 1835; m. Mary Magdalena Crouser, who d. Mar. 25, 1856, age 84, who was son of George (?) Ilgenfritz.

8. Only living son.

9. Blanch T. Ilgenfritz; m. Theodore Warner; residence, Baltimore, Md.

9. M. Marcella Ilgenfritz, m. L. B. Benton, residence, Baltimore, Md.

6—10. Elizabeth Weiser (7 br.) Sept. 6. 1767; bap. (8 br.) Oct. 28, 1767, sponsors, Jacob Weiser and wife; confirmed 1782; m. Nov. 1, 1789, Henry Wiegand.

6—11. Christiana Elizabeth Weiser, b. Jan. 8, 1770; bap. Jan. 26, 1770, sponsors, Philip Breitenbach and his wife.

5—2. Margaret Weiser, b. Sept. 28, 1728.

5—3. Elizabeth Weiser, b. Apr. 19, 1730; confirmed 1748, aged 18 years, 5 mo.

5—4. Christopher Weiser, b. Mar. 18, 1731.

5—5. Maria Catharine Weiser, b. Jan. 29, 1733; confirmed 1748, age 14 years, 5 mo; m. 1st, ab. Jan., 1754, Conrad Rahm, by Rev. George Weiser; 2d, ——.

Conrad Rahm, originally from Switzerland, came from Metz, Germany, arrived at Philadelphia, 1742, on ship "Europa." He had various brothers and at least one sister, said to have been married to a Weiser (could it have been Sophia Riem, dau. Peter Riem, m. Nov. 22, 1748 to Philip Weiser, eldest son of Col. Conrad Weiser?). One of his brothers was killed by Indians, in company with others while on scout duty, during, or before, the French and Indian War. All of the party were killed and scalped. Another brother Martin Rahm, owned a plantation in Dauphin County and had slaves; he married a widow with children; his will was probated in 1794. Another brother remained in Germany, whose grandson,

Henry C. de Rahm (which was the original name) came, later, to New York and settled there. The name of Conrad's father may have been Peter.

Conrad first bought a farm adjoining the city of Philadelphia, but, with the growth of that city, sold the same and moved to property joining the Harris property near Harrisburg. Fort Hunter was on his farm. He was a corporal in Capt. Benj. Weiser's Co., German Continental Regt. at the battles of Trenton and Princeton. His sons, Michael, Melchior and Jacob, were also in the army. Some members of the family took part in theWar of 1812, and one, at least, was with Perry at Lake Erie, being mentioned for bravery.

The following record of descendants was furnished by Lemuel K. Hynicka, Lebanon, Pa., as received by him from General Green B. Raum, and taken from the family Bible.

6—1. John Michael Rahm, b. Mar. 7, 1755; m. Mrs. Sophia Ross.

7—1. Melchior Rahm, b. 1781, m. Sarah Kapp. Had twelve children.

8—4. David Rahm (4th child), m. Hannah Pugh Davis.

9—1. John Melchior Rahm, b. Sept. 25, 1839; d. June, 1915; m. Anne Amelia Ennes.

10—1. Mildred Louise Rahm, m. Edward Luther Smith.

11—1. David Rahm Smith, Captain, promoted to Major in World War. Lieut. Col. in Reserves.

12—1. David Rahm Smith, Jr.

12—2. James Edward Smith.

11—2. Eleanor Scott Smith, m. —— Webster.

11—3. Elizabeth Learned Smith, d. in infancy.

7—2. David Rahm, b. 1783.

7—3. Catherine Rahm, b. 1785; m. —— Earnest.
6—2. John Jacob Rahm, b. June 17, 1757; m. Barbara Byers.
6—3. Margaretta Rahm, b. Apr. 20, 1759; m. —— Byers.
6—4. Melchior Rahm, b. Feb. 13, 1762; m. Mary King.

They lived for a time, at Hummelstown, Pa., later at Harrisburg, Pa., where they died.

7—1. Jacob Rahm.
7—2. Rebecca Rahm.
7—3. John Rahm, b. July 14, 1793; m. March 22, 1827, Juliet C. Field, at Golconda, Ill.
8—1. Mary Eliza Raum.
8—2. Green Berry Raum (General), b. Dec. 3, 1829.
8—3. William H. C. Raum.
8—4. John Melchior Raum.
8—5. William W. Raum.
8—6. Marye Raum.
8—7. Ada Raum.
8—8. Stella S. Raum.
7—4. Magdalene Rahm.
7—5. Catharine Rahm.
7—6. Martin Rahm, m. Anna Maria Dorothy Anshutz, b. 1788; d. 1878, dau. George Anshutz, b. 1753; d. 1837, son George Ludwig Anshutz, b. at Newkirche, on the Rhine, Germany.
8. Anna Maria Rahm, b. 1813; d. 1894; m. —— Johnston.
9. Sarah Jane Johnston, b. 1841; m. —— Miller.
10. Maria Louisa Miller, residence, Blairsville, Pa.
7—7. George Rahm.
7—8. Samuel Rahm.

7—9. Henry Rahm.
7—10. William King Rahm.
7—11. Mary Ann Rahm, b. 1809; d. 1849; m. Christopher Cuel Hynicka.
8—1. Catharine Ann Hynicka.
8—2. Luther Reily Hynicka, m. 1st, Mary Elizabeth Moyer.
9—1. Rudolph Kelker Hynicka.
9—2. Alice Adelaide Hynicka.
9—3. Lemuel Kline Hynicka.
8—2. Luther Reily Hynicka, m. 2d, Caroline Moyer, sister of his first wife.
9—4. Robert Griffith Hynicka.
9—5. Luther Reily Hynicka.
9—6. Elizabeth Gobin Hynicka.
8—3. Adelaide Hynicka.
8—4. George Hynicka.
8—5. Rebecca Hynicka.
8—6. Mary Magdalene Hynicka.
8—7. John Melchior Hynicka.
8—8. Mary Ann Hynicka.
8—9. Christopher Cuel Hynicka.
8—10. Edward Orth Hynicka.
8—11. Fanny Elizabeth Hynicka.
7—12. Elizabeth Rahm.
6—5. John Rahm, b. Aug. 22, 1765.
6—6. Catharine Rahm, b. July 20, 1769.
6—7. Rebecca Rahm, b. Nov. 22, 1773, near Hummelstown, Pa.; d. Dec. 31, 1842, at Harrisburg, Pa.; m. 1797, Christian Henry Orth, b. Mar. 24, 1773, at Lebanon, Pa.; d. 1816, at Baltimore, Md.

Orth Ancestry.

1. Balzer, or Balthaser, Orth came from the Palatinate, Germany to Lancaster (now Lebanon) County, Pa., about 1725.
2. Col. Adam Orth, b. ab. 1718, d. Nov. 15, 1794, at Lebanon, Pa.; m. May 24, 1757, Anna Catharine Kucher, b. 1719; d. Sept. 17, 1794, dau. Peter Kucher. Both are buried in the graveyard of the Moravian Church, at Hebron, near Lebanon.

During the French and Indian War he commanded the Lebanon Township Company in Rev. John Elder's Rangers. During the Revolution he was made Sub-Lieutenant of the county, Mar. 12, 1777, with rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. Representative in General Assembly for Dauphin County, 1789-90. He owned and operated the New Market Forge, which, at his death, was bequeathed to his son, Christian Henry Orth.

3. Christian Henry Orth, m. Rebecca Rahm.

7—1. Adam Henry Orth, b. 1798; m. Elizabeth Cox.

7—2. Henry Orth, b. 1803; d. 1821.

7—3. William Orth, b. 1806; d. 1824.

7—4. Rebecca Orth, b. 1808; m. Dr. Luther Reily.

Dr. Reily was son of Captain John Reily (son of Benjamin Reily) who was born in Leeds, England, Apr. 12, 1752. During the Revolution he was Captain in the 12th Reg't., Pennsylvania Line, transferred, 1778, to the 3rd Reg't. He served with valor and distinction, and was severely wounded at Bonhamton, N. J., being shot through the body. He died, May 2, 1810, at Myerstown, Pa., and was married May 20, 1773, at Lancaster, Pa., by the Rev. Thomas Barton, Episcopalian, to Elizabeth Myer, dau. Isaac Myer, founder of Myerstown, b. Apr. 2, 1755; d. Apr. 2, 1800. They had a large family.

7—5. Catharine Orth, b. 1810; m. 1st, John Whitehill, 2d, Col. James Piper.

7—6. Caroline Orth, b. 1812; d. Jan. 10, 1848; m. Apr. 17, 1828, Dr. John Otto Witman, son of Benjamin Witman (1774–1856) and Margaret Otto (d. 1843), dau. Dr. John A. Otto. He m., 2d, Margaret S. Reed, dau. William Reed, Dauphin, Co., Pa.

8—1. Dr. Henry Orth Witman.

8—2. Luther Reily Witman.

8—3. Edward Lawrence Witman.

8—4. Rebecca Catharine Witman, m. Robert H. Moffitt, D.D.S.

7—7. Edward Lawrence Orth, b. 1814; m. Martha Kerr.

6—8. Martin Rahm, b. Oct. 4, 1776.

5—6. Jacob Weiser, b. Sept. 24, 1736, in N. J.; confirmed, 1758, age 20½ years; d. Jan. 1, 1808; m. Anna Elizabeth Kurr, b. June 5, 1740; d. Oct. 1, 1805.

He was a "Court-Martial Man" May, 1777 in Capt. John Lesher's 1st Co., 6th Bat., Berks Co. Militia, also Corporal in Capt. Michael Scheffer's Co., 1st Bat., Berks Co. Militia, Major Gabriel Hiester, on duty at Newtown, Bucks Co., Jan. 20, 1777.

6—1. Anna Elizabeth Weiser, b. Dec. 23, 1763; d. June 10, 1837; m. John Peter Etschberger, b. Apr. 26, 1760; d. Oct. 30, 1823, son of Jacob Etschberger, b. Feb. 13, 1724; d. Aug. 12, 1806.

7—1. Elizabeth Etschberger, b. Mar. 13, 1786; bap. Mar. 13, 1786, sponsors, Jacob Weiser and wife.

7—2. John Etschberger, b. Sept. 27, 1787; bap. Nov. 4, 1787, sponsors, Jacob Etschberger and wife.

7—3. Maria Etschberger, b. Aug. 17, 1790; bap. Sept. 5, 1790, sponsors, Jacob Neff and wife.

7—4. John Peter Etschberger, b. Nov. 4, 1794; bap. Nov. 23, 1794, sponsors, Peter Spycker and wife.

He was sergeant in Jere Rees Co., 5th Bat., 1st Brig., Penna. Vol., Lieut.-Col. Lefever, at York, Pa., Aug. 30, 1814 to Mar. 5, 1815.

7—5. Catharine Etschberger, b. June 9, 1798; bap. July 29, 1798, sponsors, Jacob Weiser and wife.

7—6. John Jacob Etschberger, b. Apr. 19, 1801; bap. May 25, 1801, sponsors, Tho's Knerr and wife.

7—7. George Philip Etschberger, b. Mar. 19, 1807; bap. May 3, 1807, sponsors, Peter Schitz and wife.

6—2. John Weiser, b. Jan. 23, 1766; d. Nov. 7, 1825; m. Feb. 22, 1789, Elizabeth Anspach, b. Nov. 2, 1776; d. Mar. 14, 1841.

He was baptized Oct. 9. 1766, sponsors, John Weiser and his wife.

Col. Conrad Weiser's Homestead.

The homestead passed from Col. Conrad to his son Philip; in 1762, upon Philip's death, it went to his brother Frederick from whom Daniel Levan bought it in 1791 but soon sold it to Jacob Weiser, son of Christopher Frederick, Col. Conrad's brother, from whom, in 1795, it passed to his son John, who sold part but kept the rest until his death. In 1822 the homestead passed to Jacob Hehn, then to John Sheetz, then to John A. Sheetz, then to Peter Marshall, and, finally, on Oct. 2, 1915, the farm of 142 acres, then part of the estate of John F. P. Marshall, was sold by his administratrix, to Roy Valentine,

a lineal descendant of its original owner through the marriage of his daughter, Anna Maria, to Henry Melchior Muhlenberg.

7—1. Peter Weiser, b. May 25, 1789; d. May 18, 1845; bap. Aug. 30., by Rev. C. Emanuel Schulze, sponsor, Jacob Anspach; m. 2d, Apr. 16, 1830, Sarah Moor, b. Sept. 21, 1808; d. Feb. 6, 1847. The record names his father as "John." He died in Juniata Co., Pa., where he had settled.

8. Jacob Weiser.

8. Isaac Weiser.

8. John Weiser.

8. Josiah Weiser.

8. Jonathan Weiser, b. Nov. 15, 1818; d. March 6, 1880; m. 1851, Mary Gilfillan, of Phouty's Valley, d. April 18, 1889.

9—1. Alice Weiser, m. John G. App.

9—2. Jay Gilfillan Weiser. A lawyer, Middleburg, Snyder Co., Pa.

9—3. Laura Weiser, m. Alton B. McLinn.

9—4. Charles Brandt Weiser, d. ab. 1906.

9—5. Jennie Weiser, d. early.

9—6. Jonathan Lewis Weiser, b. on the Weiser homestead, March 10, 1857; d. there, May 26, 1904; m. October, 1881, Elizabeth Eve Holman; d. July 30, 1915.

10—1. John Holman Weiser, b. Aug. 6, 1882. Living in Mifflin, Pa.

10—2. Mary Gilfillan Weiser, b. June 20, 1889; m. Thomas Jenkins, of Bethlehem, Pa.

11—1. Holman Weiser Jenkins.

10—3. Ruth Elizabeth Weiser, b. Jan. 6, 1893; d. May 26, 1919.

7—2. Mary Weiser, m. Daniel (or Michael) Seltzer, emigrated to Missouri ab. 1842.

7—3. Catharine Weiser, b. Jan. 3, 1793; bap. Jan. 1, 1794, sponsors, the parents.

7—4. Jonathan Weiser, b. Nov. 24, 1794; bap. May 3, 1795, sponsors, the parents.

7—5. Salome Weiser, b. Jan. 3, 1797; d. Oct. 30, 1842; m. Thomas Jefferson Rehrer.

8—1. Erastus Godfrey Rehrer, residence, Florida.

8—2. Clarissa Rehrer, m. Dr. George Dock, residence, Harrisburg, Pa.

9—1. Lilian Dock, m. 1st, —— Finley, divorced and m. 2d, —— Hastings.

10—1. Clara Dock Finley.

8—3. Clementine Margaret Rehrer, residence, Harrisburg, Pa.

7—6. Thomas Weiser.

7—7. Jacob Weiser, m. Mary Eichold.

8—1. Elizabeth Regina Weiser, m. Moses Leitzel; residence, Schuylkill Haven, Pa.

9—1. Elizabeth Leitzel.

9—2. Mary Ellen Leitzel, b. 1858; m. Andrew K. Whalen.

10—1. Ellen Elizabeth Whalen, b. 1886, residence, Philadelphia, Pa.

10—2. Howard Arthur Whalen, b. 1888, residence, Philadelphia, Pa.

10—3. Earl Leitzel Whalen, b. 1897, residence, Philadelphia, Pa.

9—3. Anna Leitzel, m. Samuel Cummings, residence, Schuylkill Haven, Pa.

9—4. Frances Leitzel, m. William Stroh, residence, Sunbury, Pa.

10—1. Frank Clifford Stroh.
10—2. Raymond Stroh.
9—5. Sarah Leitzel, m. William Stitzer, residence, Schuylkill Haven, Pa.
8—2. Lavinia Weiser, residence, Sunbury, Pa.
8—3. Sarah Weiser, residence, Sunbury, Pa.
8—4. Caroline Weiser.
8—5. Rebecca Weiser, m. John Diehl.
8—6. Clementine Weiser, m. —— Wentzel, residence, Herndon, Pa.
8—7. Jonathan Weiser.
8—8. Reuben Weiser.
8—9. George Weiser.
7—8. Rebecca Weiser, m. Peter Brown, emigrated to Ohio, later to Mendota, Ill.
7—9. Elizabeth Weiser, m. Jacob Reed, emigrated to Ohio, later to Mendota, Ill.
7—10. Caroline Weiser, m. Jacob L. Eckert, emigrated to Mendota, Ill.
7—11. John Weiser.
7—12. Lavinia Weiser, b. Jan. 31, 1813; d. 1872; m. Aug. 21, 1833, John Stamm Good.
8—1. John Stamm Weiser Good, b. 1834; d. 1864; m. Lavinia Schmeck.
9—1. Mary Lavinia Good, b. 1860; residence, Philadelphia, Pa.
8—2. Oscar R. Good, b. 1836; d. ab. 1871. Single.
8—3. Joseph N. Good, b. 1838; d. 1890. Single.
8—4. Mary Cecilia Good, b. 1840; m. Abraham R. Royer, residence, Philadelphia. Pa.
9—1. Daisy Lavinia Royer, b. 1875; m. Walter S. March.

8—5. Emma Merinda Good, b. Oct. 11, 1843; d. Jan. 25, 1902; m. Sept. 21, 1868, James Miller Landis. He m. 2d, Sept. 7, 1904, Mary E. Rauch, who was killed, by an acccident, Sept. 29, 1904.

9—1. Bertha May Landis, b. 1869; m. Howard W. Curry, residence, Hartford, Conn.

10—1. Harriette Emma Curry, b. 1895.

10—2. Jean Landis Curry, b. 1897.

9—2. Herbert Davis Landis, b. 1870; d. 1871.

9—3. Charles Alfred Landis, b. 1872; d. 1878.

9—4. Edward Horace Landis, b. 1876.

9—5. Arthur Spencer Landis, b. 1879; d. 1880.

9—6. George Osbourn Landis, b. 1880.

8—6. Amanda Lavinia Good, b. 1847; residence, Philadelphia, Pa.

8—7. William Good, d. in childhood.

6—3. John Jacob Weiser, b. Sept. 5, 1774; bap. sponsors, Michael (Walborn?) and wife Catharine; d. June 30, 1793.

6—4. Anna Maria Weiser, b. May 17, 1778; bap. —— 28, 1778, Christ Church, sponsors, Philip Breitenbach and wife Elizabeth; m. Apr. 2, 1799, Geo. Ilig.

5—7. Anna Weiser, b. Apr. 9, 1738; confirmed 1758, age 19.

5—8. Benjamin Weiser, b. May 8, 1740; confirmed 1759, age 19; d. Nov. 24, 1782; m. 1769, Esther Levan; b. Nov. 24, 1752, dau. Daniel Levan, of Maxatawney, Berks Co., Pa. She m. 2d, July 11, 1784, John Bleiny.

6—1. John Weiser.

6—2. Daniel Weiser, bap. Jan. 15, 1776, sponsors, Daniel Levan and wife; m. 1797, Elizabeth Coblin.

7—1. Eleonore Weiser, b. Aug. 22, 1798; bap. Mar. 17, 1799, sponsors, the parents.

7—2. Elizabeth Weiser, b. Mar. 10, 1800; bap. Apr. 13, 1800, sponsors, the parents.

7—3. Martha Weiser, b. Jan. 29, 1802; bap. Apr. 11, 1802, sponsors, the parents.

7—4. Edward Kobling Weiser, b. Feb. 13, 1804; bap. March 10, 1805, sponsors, John Pleiny and Esther.

7—5. Lydia Weiser, b. Jan. 7, 1806; bap. Apr. 17, 1806, sponsors, the parents.

6—3. Elizabeth Weiser, b. June 30, 1776; bap. Nov. 14, 1776, sponsors, Elizabeth Brietenbach and Elizabeth Schulze; d. Nov. 16, 1848; m. Mar. 21, 1796, George Rick, b. Nov. 8, 1755; d. June 14, 1821.

7—1. Charles Rick, b. Dec. 22, 1804; d. May 28, 1878; m. Ellen Ruth, b. June 13, 1813; d. Aug. 31, 1880, residence, Reading, Pa.

8—1. Cyrus Rick.

8—2. John Rick.

8—3. James Rick, b. June 28, 1844.

9. James Rick.

9. Harrison Rick.

9. Albert Rick.

9. Julia Rick.

9.Edward Rick, d. Oct. 19, 1918, age 32; m. Caroline Augusta Schlechter.

10. Edward Rick.

10. Richard Rick.

10. A daughter.

8—4. Charles Rick, b. Nov. 15, 1840; d. Nov. 27, 1909; m. Emma, dau. Rev. William Pauli, one of a long line of distinguished Reformed ministers. She died Mar. 16, 1921, in her 73d year of age.

He was First Lieut., 128th Regt., Penna. Vol., Civil War, in the battles of Antietam and Chancellorsville.

9—1. Mary Rick, m. June 2, 1898, Frederick Hunter Muhlenberg, b. Feb. 19, 1865.

10—1. Emily Muhlenberg, d. 1905.

10—2. Hiester Henry Muhlenberg.

10—3. Charles Muhlenberg.

10—4. Ernest Muhlenberg.

10—5. Mary Muhlenberg.

9. Daughter, m. John M. Frame.

9. Daughter, m. Herbert A. Green.

9. Daughter, m. Harry Weile.

9. Daughter, m. Lindsay McCandlish.

9. Arthur Rick.

6—4. Benjamin Weiser, b. Nov. 10, 1778; d. 1808; m. 1799, Catharine Hyde, d. 1849 or 1858. She m. 2d, —— Smith.

7—1. Siegfried Weiser.

8. Five children, all dying in childhood.

7—2. Levan Weiser, d. in childhood.

7—3. Esther Weiser, d. in childhood.

7—4. Elizabeth Weiser, d. in childhood.

7—5. Reuben B. Weiser, b. 1807; d. 1885, or 1883; m. 1832, Sarah Bossart, issue five children, three living in 1918, two daughters and a son who was:

8—5. Reuben B. Weiser, b. 1846, still living 1918, had three children, two dead, a girl and a boy, in 1918; a daughter then living.

5—9. Jabez Weiser, b. Aug. 4, 1742; bap. 1743; confirmed, 1760, age 17.

5—10. Christopher Frederick Weiser, b. May 22, 1745; confirmed, 1759, age 14.

Unclassified.

The following records have been secured, but, from lack of connecting data, it has not been found possible, as yet, to properly place them.

The Rev. Jno. Baer Stoudt in Sept., 1910, stated:

David Weiser, of Oley, appears in the Oley tax list of 1752; came into possession of a farm, 1767; sold same to his son Christian in 1772, which sale was, practically, his will. Christian is directed to pay the sum of 50 pounds each to Rosina in 1773, to John in 1774, to Anna in 1775, to Susanna (m. Abraham Hoch) in 1776, and to Daniel in 1778 (1748–1773). David's wife's Christian name was Chatrina.

There are the folowing Weiser inscriptions in Deturck's Cemetery, Oley Township, which cemetery is located on the original Weiser farm, about one mile east of Friedensburg: Rosina Heilton, née Weiserin, b. 1746; d. 1798; Christian Weiser, b. Mar. 5, 1741; d. Jan. 22, 1807; Magdalena Weiserin, née Lobach, b. Mar. 20, 1760; d. Apr. 15, 1820.

Will, Dec. 14, 1806, of Christian Weiser, of Oley, probated Feb. 16, 1807, witnessed by Abraham Weiser, gives following children: Daniel, Magdalena, Esther, John.

David Weiser, Oley Twp., Berks Co., Pa., will of Apr. 7, 1820, probated Nov. 30, 1820, gives children, Abraham, Samuel, David, Deborah, Esther, Anna.

From family bible (mainly) of Moses Weiser, in possession of Edward S. Weiser, Pottsville, Pa., secured by James M. Landis, Feb., 1909, we have:

Moses Weiser, b. Jan. 11, 1811; d. Mar. 19, 1874; m. Catharine Shenk, b. July 24, 1813; d. Jan. 13, 1880; issue as follows:

- Edward S. Weiser, b. Oct. 13, 1833; m. Sarah Emily Hagerman.
- Alexander F. Weiser, b. June 25, 1835; d. Jan. 28, 1909; m. Keziah DeLong.
- John A. Weiser, b. Apr. 8, 1837; d. Aug. 7, 1850.
- Charles C. Weiser, b. Jan. 1, 1839; d. Jan. 2, 1851.
- George W. Weiser, b. Apr. 11, 1841; m. Ida M. Lomison.
- James M. Weiser, b. Nov. 30, 1842; m. Ellen Mellon.
- Walter Weiser, b. Nov. 26, 1844; d.—no date.
- Theodore B. Weiser, b. Nov. 26, 1846; died in Andersonville prison, Civil War, 1864 or 1865.
- Isabel Catharine Weiser, b. May 27, 1849.
- Franklin P. Weiser, b. Aug. 7, 1852; m. Martha Landefeld.

The father of Moses Weiser lived in Longswamp Township, Berks Co., Pa., name unknown. Moses had the following brothers and sister:

- Levi, who lived near Reading, Pa.
- Gideon, a saddler, who lived in Reading.
- Rachel, unmarried.
- A brother, name unknown, who was estranged.

Solomon Weiser, b. Mar. 4, 1799; d. Jan. 15, 1873; m. Susanna Zerbe, b. Sept. 20, 1797; d. Mar. 17, 1857; both as per tombstones, Womelsdorf, Pa. They had issue:

Peter Weiser, lived in Philadelphia; m. —— Shearer, of Robesonia, Pa., and had daughters, one being Jean of Philadelphia (single).

Lavina, or Elvina, Weiser, b. 1822; d. 1893; m. George Arnold, and had son, John Peter Arnold, who m. Frances —— and had four sons and one daughter.

From records Christ Tulpehocken Church.

Solomon Weiser, m. Maria —— and had:

Maria Catharine Weiser, b. Mar. 30, 1787; bap. May 7, 1787; sponsor, Maria Catharine Weiser.

Henry Solomon (twin), b. May 4, 1789.

Henrietta Salome (twin), b. May 4, 1789; bap. Aug. 9, 1789, sponsor, Catharine Weiser.

Francis Weiser, b. June 30, 1790; bap. Sept. 5, 1790, sponsors, Jabetz Weiser and his wife Maria Elizabeth.

George Weiser, m. Aug. 5, 1792, Susanna Doeringer, in the Lutheran Church at Hanover, Pa., (Penna. Archives, vol. 8, p. 740).

George Weiser, m. May 18, 1785, Susanna Schumacher in St. Michael's and Zion Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, (Penna. Archives, vol. 9, p. 405).

Elizabeth Weiser, b. ab. 1775 or 1776; m. June 6, 1795, Johannes Jung, b. 1773, witnesses Carl Wulpert and wife, in St. Michael's and Zion Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, (Penna. Archives, vol. 9, p. 431).

Their daughter, Catherine Young, b. July 18, 1796; bap. July 31, 1796, sponsors, Jacob Bechtold and Catharine Weiser; m. John Logue and settled in Port Elizabeth, N. J. Their daughter, Mary Louisa Henderson m. Charles N. Weaver. Their daughter, Ella H. Weaver m. Harry Woolever, residence, Phila., 1914.

Valentine Weiser, m. Aug. 28, 1794, Elizabeth Jung, St. Michael's and Zion Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, Pa., (Penna. Archives, vol. 9, p. 428).

Margaretha Weiser (widow), m. May 21, 1795, Philip Jacob Berthold (widower), St. Michael's and Zion Lutheran Church, Philadelphia, Pa., (Penna. Archives, vol. 9, p. 431).

Jacob Weiser, m. Oct. 26, 1766, Susanna Hansen, (Penna. Archives, vol. 8, p. 558).

John Weiser, m. Apr. 12, 1810, Sally Piper, in the Reformed Church at Philadelphia, (Penna. Archives, vol. 8, p. 744).

John Weiser, b. Aug. 6, 1818; bap. Dec. 1, 1821, son of John Weiser and Barbara Witman, sponsors, Peter Zerbe and Elizabeth.

Samuel Weiser, b. Sept. 26, 1809; bap. Nov. 24, 1810, son of Samuel and Catharina Weiser, sponsor, Susannah Faber.

The following records were secured, mainly from Christ Tulpehocken Lutheran Church.

Benjamin Weiser, m. Apr., 1796, Charlotte Miller.

Benjamin Weiser, and wife Elizabeth, had a daughter, Esther, b. Jan. 29, 1804.

Peter Weiser, m. Aug. 16, 1787, Elizabeth Minchausin.

Peter Weiser, m. 1805, Barbara Pennolen.

Peter Weiser, dau. Catharine, confirmed 1784, age 15.
Philip Weiser, m. 1795, Margaret Weise.
Elizabeth Weiser, m. Mar. 8, 1808, Jacob Fesig.
Daniel Weiser, farmer, Maxatawney Twp., Berks Co.; d. Jan., 1822; m. Esther Pott, dau. John Pott, son of Wilhelm Pott, issue: William, David, Maria m. Isaac De Turk, Susanna m. Peter Ziegler.
Anna Barbara Weiser, confirmed, 1777, age 14.
Magdalena Weiser, d. May 20, 1827, aged 47 years and a few months.
Anna Eliz. Weiser (tombstone record), b. July 5, 1740; d. Oct. 1, 1805, age 65 years, 4 mos.

H. M. M. Richards.

Lebanon, Pa.

Personalia des Br. Fridrich Weisers.

(*Hebron Diary No. 5.*)

The following extract was made by W. J. Hinke, in the Moravian parsonage at Lebanon, Pa., from the Hebron Diary, vol. V (1767–69), May 14, 1898, relative to John Frederick Weiser, half brother to Col. Conrad Weiser.

Unser seliger Bruder Friedrich Weiser war geboren 1714, den 14 ten November, in Schochery im New Yorkischen Government. Nachdem sein Vater Anno 1709 aus Deutschland als Wittwer mit seinen Kindern aus der ersten Ehe dahin gekommen und sich daselbst zum sweiten mal verhey rathete, aus dieser 2 ten Ehe war unser seliger Bruder, das 3 te und juengste Kind. Was unsers seliger Bruders Gang durch diese Zeit betrift, haben wir aus seiner eigenen Erzehlung so vill angemerkt. Er hatte schon in seinen Kinder und Knaben Jahre eine liebes Neigung und Ge-

fuehl zu Jesu und seinem blutigen Marter-Tode, deswegen er auch so gerne im Neuen Testament und sonderlich in der Leidensgeschichte unsers Heilanders gelesen. Da er aber zu mehren Jahren kam, so verlor sich das Gefuehl und Liebe zum Heiland und seiner Marter nach und nach, dass er auch so mit den groessesten Haufen so mit fortgegangen ist. Weil er nun gut lessen kannte so hat er denen Lutheranern, die sich daselbst zusammen gehalten, des Sonntags aus einem Predigt Buch vorgelesen. In 1738 im Monath April heirathete er die nunmehrige Wittwe, da nun um diese Zeit der Br. Christ. Heinrich den Indianern in Reinbrick uebern Nord Revier das Evangelium predigte, und unser Schw. Weiserin diese Predigt oft besuchten und ein Gefuehl in ihrern Herzen davonbekam, wolte ihr mann unser Br. Weiser anfangs nicht mit ihr gehen, ob sie ihm gleich gute Worte gab, und er selber auch eine heimliche Liebe zu dem Bruder hatte; weil er aber dachte er wuerde seinen Credit bey denen Lutheraner, welchen er vorlas, verlieren und er sich darauf doch etwas einbildte, so unterliess ers eine geraume Zeit, dass er nicht mit seiner Frau ging. Endlich ueberwand er sich und ging ein mal in die Indianer predigt, da er gleich ueberzeugt wurde dass das, das rechte wahre Evangelium ware, weil er nichts anders gehoert als von Jesu und seinen bitteren Leiden und Blut Vergiessen welches allein der Menschen ihre Seligkeit und ewiges Leben ist. Sein Vater fragte ihn das er nach Hause kam, wie ihm die Predigt gefallen, ob er denn auch von Jesu und seinen Leiden gepredigt haette; da er antwortete Ja, und sagte das waere der Haupt Inhalt der Predigt gewesen, darauf erwiderte sein Vater also koennte man den Mann nicht verwerffen, wenn er das predigte, das sey ja das wahre Evangelium. Von da an besuchte er die Predigt mehr und mit seinem Vorlesen walte es von der Zeit an nicht mehr gehen, denn die Leute wurden gleich widrig gegen ihn. Darauf besuchte ihm sein Bruder, Conrad Weiser, einmal, der ihm das was er durch die Predigt der Evangelii des Br. Christ. Heinrich gehoert, bestaetigte, (und dabei sagte wenn Kinder Gottes auf dein Erdboden sind, so seyn es die Brueder). Anno 1744 im Frueh jahr

zog er mit seiner Familie in die so gennante Hohe an der Swatara, als wohin der mehr erwehnte Bruder Christ. Heinrich gehoert, bald auch kam und bey Ludwig Born predigte, in welcher Predigt unseren seligen Bruder Weiser sein bisgen vermeintes Gute, welches er sich einbildete zu haben, auf einmal zu nichte worden, und sein Herz wurde durch die Gnade von der Marter und Tode Jesu und dem ganzen blutigen Verdienst so hin genommen, dass er dachte wenn das doch alle Menschen wuersten und glauben koennten, was der liebe Heiland fuer sie gethan hat. (Weil er nun als er schon verheirathet gewesen von einem Lutherischen Pfarrer zum Abendmahl confirmirt worden) da wuenschte er nun damals in sonderheit diesen Pfarrer zu bezeugen dass er ihm mit einen unglaeubigen und todten Herzen selig gepriesen, und als ein glaeubiges Glied der Kirche confirmit, welches doch nicht war, denn das Wort fuer euch erfordert glaeubige Herzen und den Leichnam und Blut Christi zu geniessen erfordert den Geist. Anno 1749 wurde er hier in die Gemeinde aufgenommen und das folgende Jahr, anno 1750, gelangte zum heiligen Abendmand. Von der Zeit an ging er seinen stillen und seligen Gang fort, hielt sich kindlich mit seinem Elend an dem lieben Heiland und sein Verdienst und hatte davon einen seligen Gemiss vor sein Herz. Biss um die Zeit des wilden Krieges, da er durch das Herumziehen, wie er selbst sagte, er etwas verlohren und sein Herz nicht in den Genuss der Wunden und des Verdienstes Jesu unverrueckt geblieben, welches er erkannte und mit Schmerz und Thraenen fuehlte bis ihm der Freund seiner Seele wieder gnaedig und freundlich anblickte und troestete. Anno 1763 zog er nach Lebanon, allwo er die Jahre her gewahnt und seinen stillen Gang gegangen; mit seiner Frau der hinterlassenen Wittwe, hat er 31 Jahr und 4 Monat eine friedliche Ehe gefuehrt, welche mit neun (9) Kindern gesegnet worden, davon finf (5) bereits ihm vorangegangen, unter welchen der allteste Sohn von der Wilden ungebracht worden, vier (4) aber noch hienieden sind, nemlich, zwei (2) Soehne und zwei (2) Toechter, verwichenen Winter fing er an zu kraenkeln, da bey er aber noch immer seiner Arbeit

nachging mit mancher Beschwerung und Liebes Schmerzen, welches mehr und mehr zunahm, bis da er im May aus Lebanon heraus und Bruder Kucher's Haus zog. Von da an Konnte er nichts mehr thun, sondern hatte viele Schmerzen in seinem Leibe und linken Seite, dass er seine Zeit meist abwechselnd sitzen und liegen verbrachte. Alle angewendte Hausmittel und der gebrauch andere Medicamenta waren ohne Effect, so dass er nach und nach ganz ausgezehrt und entkraeftet war. Bey seinen Schmerzen war er sehr geduldig und zufrieuden und wolle. Vor die Pflege und Wartung seiner lieben Frau und Toechter war er sehr dankbar und zufrieden, und ueber den Besuch seiner Bekannte erfreuet, in sonderheit erquickte er sich sehr wenn man mit ihm von dem Freund seiner Seele und von der Vessoehnung durch sein Blut und Wunden redete und davon vor sang. In sonderheit nahm sein Verlangen die letzte Tage sehr zu aufgeloeset und beyn Herrn daheim zu seyn, war aber dabey so gelassen und in den Willen des Herrn ergeben, dass es einen wahres Vergnuegen war um ihn zu seyn und der friede Gottes liess sich kraeftig fuehlen. Er blieb sich auch so ganz gengenwaertig biss zum letzten Athemzug da er unter einer seligen Liturgie und mit dem Segen des Herrn in die Arme seiner Erloesers sehr sanft und selig ueberging, Seines Alters 54 Jahre, 9 Monat und 18 Tage. Er ist nun in Friede und bey dem Herrn allezeit

September, 1769, 7d. 2 ten diesen Abend um 1/28 Uhr kam endlich das erwenschte Stuendlein dass unser Bruder Friedr. Weiser unter einer gefuehligen Liturgie sehr ruhig und sanft in Jesu Arm entschlief. D. 4 ten Vormittag um 10 Uhr war das Begraebniss unsers seligen Bruder Weisers. Br. Heppner predigte vorher einen sehr zahlreichen Volk welches sich zum Begraebniss eingefunden, ueber Roemer 14: 7, 8, 9. Es war alles so whol auf dem Saal als such auf dem Gottesacker sehr attent.

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